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THE EDUCATION OF CHARLES FOX

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1.

"The fame of Charles Fox aroused my curiosity," wrote Horace Walpole in 1772, "and I went this day to hear him. . . . Lord North . . . spoke well. . . . Burke made a long and fine oration. . . . Charles Fox, who had been running about the House talking to different persons and scarce listening . . . rose with amazing spirit and memory, answered both Lord North and Burke; ridiculed the arguments of the former and confuted those of the latter."

Walpole's statement itself arouses curiosity: what kind of education and training prepared Charles Fox to debate so well at the age of twenty-three? Or earlier, since before the incident recounted above, Charles Fox had been described by sophisticated observers as "the phenomenon of the age." If one looks at him at Eton College it appears that even before Charles was fifteen he was a speaker of such ability that his schoolmates visualized a parliamentary career for him. And as for his earliest years, he is described as "very pert and very argumentative" at the age of seven, "sensible" at the age of five, and "clever" at the age of two and a half.

To find a proper starting point for an inquiry into the sources of Fox's talents, it appears, is not easy. His family tree, for example, contains notable individuals that should be mentioned.

One of these was a maternal great-grandmother, the beautiful and clever Louise de Kéroualle. Beginning as maid of honor to the Duchess of Orleans, sister of Charles II, she eventually became the mistress of the English monarch himself. She bore him a son, named him Charles, and secured his elevation to the peerage as the first Duke of Richmond, she herself becoming the Duchess of Portsmouth. She exerted a strong influence in both English and French society and is worth more attention than most Fox biographies give her. Fox's mother was Georgiana Caroline Lennox, daughter of the second Duke of Richmond. Usually described as sober and prudent, she was also capable of great affection; when she fell in love with Henry Fox, a politician and a commoner, she had the independence of spirit to elope with him in defiance of her parents' wishes. On the maternal

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This essay on Fox's education is the first in a series on the British orators, by various hands, which is to appear in our pages over the next two years.

side, therefore, is seen not only royal ancestry but enterprise, animation, and spirit.

At this distance, however, Charles seems even more Fox than Stuart. A paternal grandfather, Sir Stephen Fox, had a wide variety of experiences as a friend of Charles II. Sir Stephen began his career by looking after the royal stables, later becoming a financial adviser and still later paymaster general. All in all he was a favorite with twelve parliaments and four monarchs and accumulated a substantial fortune. In order to provide himself with heirs, he married at the age of seventy-seven and in fewer than five years fathered two sons and two daughters. He can be said to have possessed the important qualities of vigor, sense, and survival.

Charles's father, Henry, studied at Eton and Oxford, travelled on the Continent, and in 1735 was elected to the House of Commons. He attached himself to the party of Sir Robert Walpole and was rewarded with various political assignments. Twenty years later he had risen to the lucrative position of paymaster general, and as at that time paymasters were allowed to invest idle government funds for their own personal profit, he quickly amassed great wealth.

Henry Fox was in the House of Commons a quarter of a century. He did not speak frequently, but he spoke forcefully, clearly, and at times colorfully. One of his best parliamentary speeches was an attack on the Royal Marriage Bill, which proposed rules governing marriages of members of the royal family. At one stage of the debate Fox held up his copy of the bill, its many amendments written in red ink, and, as Antony displayed the murdered body of Caesar, Fox parodied the mutilations of the original act. "How bloody it looks," commented another member. "Yes, but you cannot say I did it," returned Fox, continuing by gazing at the Attorney General and declaring, as he pointed to the copy of the bill, "Look, what a rent the learned Casca made; through this, the well-beloved Brutus stabbed."[1]

Henry Fox was a competent debater. A contemporary noted that Fox did not have the voice nor the bearing of Pitt, but surpassed him in solid judgment and quick discernment.[2] Macaulay describes Fox as "a needy political adventurer" but credits him with becoming "a consummate master of the art of debate."[3] Another comment is that "quick and concise replication [i.e., reply, rejoinder] is his peculiar excellence."[4]

Occasionally a contemporary observer saw that Charles's speaking resembled his father's. But life in the Fox household exerted still other influences on Charles's early years. Henry Fox believed that his son should not be disciplined or contradicted. Of many stories that are current, one narrates the father's promise to let the son see the workmen dynamite a wall; the workers dynamited the wall when Charles was not there to see, so the father had it rebuilt and redynamited in Charles's full view. Henry Fox personally introduced his son to the art of gambling, and for years kept him in funds.[5] This vice introduced Charles

[1] Quoted in Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, sixth earl of Ilchester, *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland* (London, 1920), I, 191-192.

[2] George Anne Bellamy, *An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy* (London, 1785), III, 72-74.

[3] In his *Works* (New York, 1897), VI, 535-546.

[4] Quoted from Waldegrave, *Memoirs from 1754-1758*, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, 124.

[5] One of the most touching papers in the Fox correspondence on deposit in the British Museum is Henry Fox's sheet of instructions providing for the payment of his son's debts. It says in part: "I do hereby order direct & require you to sell & dispose of my Long Annuity's & so much of my other Stock Estates & Effects as will be sufficient to Pay and dis-

to the company of well-known people, and thus might be classified as a source of ideas for speeches, but it also contributed to some weakening of his character, and times came when a stronger character would have strengthened both his prestige and his oratory. Not until past mid-career was Charles able to abandon these early-formed gaming-hall habits.

Henry Fox's ideas of rearing children must be regarded judicially. Miraculously, Charles escaped becoming spoiled and arrogant, though he was somewhat undisciplined. On the positive side he did achieve self-assurance, independence, and freedom from restraint, necessary qualities when a man braces himself for the ordeal of parliamentary debate. He was from the first encouraged to take part in the conversations of adults. The boy's comments were received with consideration and with charity, and he accordingly grew easily into the society of his elders.

Charles's boyhood home was the great English manor, Holland House, the scene of many a luxurious social event. A guest list of one of the balls, held in 1753 when Charles was four, contains the names of about seventy people, most of them distinguished for social or for political reasons.[6] Charles may have known some of these people even at this tender age; certainly he knew most of them personally later, for his schoolboy letters contain references to them. Just as today the son of a physician will acquire bits of medical wisdom and an acquaintanceship with medical people, so Charles had an early admission to the society in which he was to move and to the kind of people with whom he was to associate. These influences can hardly be overestimated.

2.

Charles's formal schooling overlaps chronologically certain of the events described above. A tutor, the Reverend Mr. Francis, was engaged by the Fox household to teach Charles to read. Although Francis had a varied career as minister, playwright, and translator of Horace and Demosthenes, his influence on Charles was not great. Charles's mother herself undertook some instruction of her son, but legend reports that when she erred on a point of Roman history Charles decided (a source says that he determined) to go to school.

Charles's goal was the Upper School of Eton College, a division that most boys entered at about the age of eleven. To qualify for the Upper School one could go either to Eton's Lower School or to some other preparatory school; Charles took this latter route, perhaps because he could cover more ground in less time. He elected a private school at Wandsworth run by a Frenchman, Monsieur Pampellonne. He liked the school immensely; he wrote home, "I choose to come to school before the Fitzgeralds and I am very glad of it for I dont loose my time as they do and I see my mama as often and oftener than they do . . . and I shall be able to go to Eton before them."[7]

Little information exists today about the Pampellonne school. It is known that in order to enter Eton's Upper School a boy needed the equivalent of four or five years of Latin and should be able to read easy books in Greek. Among the selections were passages from the Catechism, the Testament, Ovid, Terence, and the *Phaedrus*. Charles ac-

charge the debts of my son The Hon'ble Charles James Fox not exceeding the sum of one hundred thousand pounds."—Fox MS. 35068B. The date is November 26, 1773.

[6] See Princess Marie Leichtenstein, *Holland House* (London, 1874), II, 24-25.

[7] From the Powys papers; quoted in John Drinkwater, *Charles James Fox* (New York, 1928), p. 339. The letter was written in 1757.

complished the equivalent of all the above in under two years. The reader may contrast this curriculum with his own elementary school education: for young Fox there were no projects about the Indians or Alaska, no visit to the city waterworks, no sharing-hour for reporting family experiences.

Charles was nine, two years younger than most, when he went to Eton to take examinations for admission into the Upper School. Soon he found himself in classes three and a half full days a week, moving ahead steadily in both Latin and Greek. The curriculum prescribed reading from Farnaby's *Delectus*, three times, twelve lines each time; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* twice, about 25 lines each time; from *Selecta ex Ovidio*, twice, 16 lines each time; from Aesop, Caesar, and Terence, each twice; and a dozen verses from the Greek Testament. Three memorization exercises were assigned each week, and the boys were also required to write two sets of elegiac verses. The masters encouraged a high order of translation, plus enough familiarity with problems of grammar and syntax to explain the various constructions. One can easily see that each boy was exposed to much linguistic training. The Reverend Mr. Francis may have helped Charles with some of his assignments.

All of the foregoing constituted the course of study prescribed for the fourth form (i.e., "class" or "grade"), the lowest form of the Upper School. Fifth and sixth form boys were given assignments that were longer and more difficult. They read Cicero, Ovid, Lucian, Vergil, Homer, Horace; they read Greek drama and selections from the Scriptures; they studied Greek and Roman history and such writers as Milton, Addison, and Pope; they continued their writing of stanzas; they memorized twenty verses from the Greek Testament for each Monday morning. Their school week was longer and the questions of the masters were more penetrating. Students were called upon, for example, to recite parallel passages from other authors. Undoubtedly, the boys developed short cuts for easing their burdens, speedily learning what types of questions each of their teachers was likely to ask; nevertheless no modern reader can escape the conclusion that the atmosphere at Eton was intellectual.[8] At least Fox himself thought so; forty years later he wrote to a famous Greek scholar that "we Etonians hold ourselves of some authority" in classical matters.[9] He continued all his life to read literature, and before many years had become expert not only in Latin and Greek but also in French, Italian, and Spanish.

Fox's instruction was illuminated by the pedagogy of a brilliant teacher, Dr. Edward Barnard, the head master. Barnard had "the charm of a musical voice" and could "out-argue the doughtiest champions pitted against him." His lectures were "masterpieces of eloquence, taste, and feeling," and when he corrected the boys' compositions, "he improved them, by little strokes of his pen, with magic." He continually read aloud

[8] The curriculum of Eton College is well documented. Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte's work, *History of Eton College*, 4th ed. (London, 1911), cites a manuscript dated 1766 describing the curriculum in detail (Fox was at Eton 1758-1764). Various memoirs of Eton are also helpful.

[9] Gilbert Wakefield, *Correspondence of the Late Gilbert Wakefield with the Late Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox* (London, 1813), p. 20. The letter is dated February 2, 1798. Compare also this further excerpt from his correspondence: "I do not wonder Marsh does not know so much about it, for he was not, I believe, at Eton, and though it sounds impertinent to say so, I think none but those who have been there ever have a correct notion of Greek, or even Latin, metre."—Lord John Russell, *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* (London, 1859-1866), III, 179-180. The letter is dated September 28, 1800.

to his charges; and when discipline was necessary, a rebuke from him carried greater force than the corporal punishment of someone else. He took a personal interest in Fox, encouraging him to excel as a scholar as well as to take part in speaking exercises.[10]

Speechmaking was a major activity at Eton. The school calendar listed declamations a month before each holiday, and speeches delivered before the whole school "with the emphasis and proper stress on particular words." The importance of these exercises is shown by the practice of allowing the sixth form boys to skip a week's exercises if they had a declamation to make or a speech to prepare. When Fox was approaching his fifteenth birthday, he wrote his father from Holland House:

> I read Tully, and look over many speeches to speak when I return. . . . I hope, when you come, you will be able to spare one Tuesday or Saturday to come to Eton to hear me speak. Dr. Barnard . . . said it was very much against his interest to advise me to be absent in the summer rather than now, as by that means the school lost so great an ornament at Election speeches.[11]

Fox also had informal discussions with his schoolmates and with others on political topics. "As I was going from home to the Duke of Richmond's I met Lady Townshend, who carried me home and told me a great deal of news," he writes. A week later he met Lord Sandwich, "with whom I talked a great deal about Politicks."[12] At times the gossip reached deep into history: "I have a vague notion that the Duchess of Portsmouth told my grandfather the Duke of Richmond [that Charles II intended to change his measures if death had not prevented him]."[13] On various occasions he visited the houses of Parliament and listened to the debates when important discussions were scheduled. Quite possibly little legislation was considered by either the Lords or Commons these years that Fox and his friends had not already discussed among themselves.

Undeniably Fox's fellow students and the adults with whom he came into close association were impressed by his maturity and political acumen, by his skill in the delivery of declamations, and by such informal speaking as he may have done. Various contemporary sources speak of his growing eloquence, and one of his classmates wrote a poem in which he predicted that one day Charles would stand in Parliament, speaking with the eloquence of Cicero, capturing praise that otherwise would go to Pitt, and commanding both peers and commons.

Eton rightly placed emphasis upon speechmaking, as the boys there were a highly select group. Many of them could look forward to parliamentary careers with assurance, since seats in the House of Commons were available to those with connections and funds, and in the House of Lords to the oldest sons of peers. At Eton with Fox were Anthony Morris Storer, who entered the House of Commons in 1774; John St. John, 1773; George Legge, 1778; James Hare, 1772; Lord Fitzwilliam, House of Lords, 1769; and others.

Fox matriculated at Hertford College, Oxford, in 1764, and spent less than two years there, leaving in 1766 without tak-

[10] John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1814), VIII, 544-547. This source cites a letter from George Hardinge, one of Barnard's students. This letter is a principal source of information about Barnard, who destroyed most of his own letters and papers.

[11] Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, sixth earl of Ilchester, *Letters to Henry Fox, Lord Holland* (London, 1915), pp. 177-178. Election speeches, an important event at Eton, were delivered on the occasion of electing scholars to Cambridge. At times they drew large crowds.

[12] *Ibid.*, 232, 242-243.

[13] British Museum MS. 47564, f. 57.

ing a degree. He was there long before the great days of the Oxford Union; whereas Gladstone found extensive opportunities for speechmaking at Oxford after 1828, Fox found little speaking activity in his day. Although the original purpose of Hertford was to train students for the clergy, including regular participation in disputations and declamations, this scheme had fallen into disuse before Fox's day.

At Oxford Fox studied mathematics, dramatic literature, French, and Italian. He spent most of one vacation reading with a friend "all of the dramatic poets of England." His nephew, Lord Holland, once wrote, "I think I have heard Mr. Fox say, that there was no play extant, written and published before the Restoration, that he had not read attentively."[14] He also continued his studies in Latin and Greek.

Fox's acquaintance with rhetorical theory was somewhat casual. In one of his letters written from Oxford he states that he had read "parts of Aristotle's *Rhetorick*."[15] In later years he read the *Poetics,* which he thought was "a great deal very obscure."[16] Casual references also appear to Quintilian and to Longinus. Of the classical orators he liked Demosthenes the best: "I think you cannot but see in him a superior force of understanding and expression to all other writers."[17]

3.

An interesting phase of Fox's education was a strong concern with the amateur stage; his fondness for reading plays has already been noted.

When he was seven years old his father described him as being "stage-mad, but it makes him read a great deal."[18] Holland House had a stage for amateur theatricals, the actors and actresses being members of the family and their friends. Horace Walpole records seeing there, in 1761, a production of *Jane Shore,* a tragedy by Nicholas Rowe; Charles had the important role of Lord Hastings. Enough correspondence is extant to show that many other productions were presented. One was Edward Young's *The Revenge,* a play resembling *Othello,* with Charles as Zenga, the revengeful Moor. For a while the cast had difficulties with Charles:

> Charles is as disagreeable about acting this play as he can be, he won't learn his part perfect, won't rehearse, &, in short, shows plainly that your not being here is the reason he won't enter into it and be eager.[19]

The final outcome of *The Revenge* is not known to us. Later correspondence described a new venture, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,* by Beaumont and Fletcher, brought to a fairly successful conclusion with this comment on Charles's performance: "Charles would have done the Copper Captain well, if he had known it; what he did know was very well indeed."[20] Charles himself wrote some months later that his performance fell short of his hopes, but that he was eager for more plays.[21] Lord Holland summarizes the contribution of the amateur stage to his uncle's career in these lines:

> This passion for acting (for it was with him not less than a passion), which seems to have begun as early as 1765, lasted until 1773. It gave him . . . a great knowledge of plays (prodigious numbers of which he had read with great delight and singular attention), and it was often remarked that his quotations and allusions in his speeches from passages not commonly known in our dramatic authors,

[14] Russell, I, 23.
[15] Ilchester, *Letters to Lord Holland,* p. 203.
[16] Russell, III, 149.
[17] *Ibid.,* II, 299; British Museum MS. 47573, ff. 72-73.
[18] Russell, I, 6.
[19] Lady Sarah Lennox, *Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox* (London, 1921), I, 115. The person referred to is Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, a cousin and one of his first loves.
[20] *Ibid.,* I, 199.
[21] Russell, I, 43-44.

both serious and comic, were very frequent and very happy.[22]

He continues by declaring that practice on the stage must have helped Fox to control and manage his voice, mentioning that his learning to use the deeper tones of his vocal range "had the most thrilling effect," and could not have been attained "by any one who had not disciplined his voice at some period of his life to such a purpose by the recital of sublime or impassioned passages of poetry." Fox's career thus lends support to the importance of the oral interpretation of literature, dramatic and otherwise, in the training of a speaker.

4.

The education of Charles Fox for parliamentary speaking comprised many factors. He started with decided intellectual capacities. Psychologists who study biographies of the early years of great men consider him to have had an IQ equivalent to that of Francis Bacon, Dickens, Disraeli, Emerson, Franklin, Galileo, Herschel, Jefferson, and Milton.[23] Although this statement is only an educated estimate, it is probably as good as can be made at this date. Comments on his childhood brightness, plus the fact that he entered Eton two years younger than most, testify to his intellectual alertness. Socially he was, from an early age, fully at ease in all sorts of situations, ranging from formal parties in his parental home to informal meetings in taverns and clubs.

Fox's education progressed at Eton and Oxford both in the classroom and out of it. His study of classical history and literature furnished him a supply of allusions that he could employ in his speeches, before an audience that thoroughly appreciated a literary turn. Surprisingly enough, however, Fox is not renowned as a stylist, though the gems of five languages were known to him. A student of oratory might expect scores of quotable passages to have emerged; and it is too naive to imagine that the almost complete lack of these is the result of faulty parliamentary reporting. Something to the contrary is recorded: although he had an ample supply of words and images, he could not quite attain the proper majesty and dignity of the English sentence. He threw himself into the middle of his sentences without proper premeditation, and, as one scholar phrased it, "left it to God Almighty to get him out again."[24]

If Fox's formal schooling did not make him a stylist, what did it contribute, linguistically, to his speaking? Here the evidence is fairly clear: it gave him a command of words, even though at times his syntax faltered. Those who heard him commented on the forcefulness, the earnestness, the impetuosity of his language. He spoke rapidly, and he carried the audience along with him. He sought to be clear, and in order to be clear he could present an idea in a variety of wordings. Listeners were impressed by the skill with which he could

[22] *Ibid.*, I, 31. Dr. Barnard said that Fox and Windham were the last two boys he flogged: "they went to Windsor without leave and attended a performance at the theatre."—The Right Honorable William Windham, *The Windham Papers* (London, 1913), I, 6. And see also Russell, I, 44, with Fox's comments upon French and Italian stages, and his plea to his friend to learn Italian poetry: "For God's sake learn Italian as fast as you can, if it be only to read Ariosto. There is more good poetry in Italian than in all other languages that I understand put together. In prose, too, it is a very fine language. Make haste and read all these things, that you may be fit to talk to Christmas." A similar comment appears in the British Museum MS. 47572, f. 76.

[23] Lewis M. Terman, editor, *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Stanford University, 1926), II, 501-556.

[24] Samuel Rogers, *Recollections of Samuel Rogers* (London, 1859), p. 19. Thomas Erskine expresses a similar view in his preface to Fox's *Speeches* (London, 1815), I, x.

analyze and phrase arguments on the spur of the moment.

Several factors come together at this point to explain further how Fox's education prepared him for parliamentary speaking. One of these factors is that he matured in a spirited, self-assured, uninhibited fashion. The force, vigor, and impetuosity of his speaking find echoes in these qualities of his personality. Another is that his interest in current questions kept him abreast of the times as he participated in informal discussion with his classmates. To take the next step, and take part in speaking exercises on the Eton campus, must not have seemed especially venturesome to him. These exercises were invaluable, however, in that they gave him experience in facing audiences; and his early successes kept him interested in this activity. As the early years went by he gained a greater knowledge of political incident and detail, and a facility in expressing his opinions in both public and private. When a day came, therefore, early in his parliamentary career, when speakers in the House of Commons were seeking a precedent, young Fox immediately supplied an exact one; "the House roared with applause." Such an achievement seems less mysterious in the light of his education and background.

No education can prepare a speaker for every eventuality. Fox's formal schooling, although emphasizing literature and language, was weak in philosophy, economics, and political science. His informal education in current topics may also have dealt more with men and measures than with political philosophy. His deeply-rooted habits of inquiry and of free discussion, however, and his skill in discussing issues in the parliamentary atmosphere, helped him identify the ideas to which he wanted to give his long-range support.

Fox took his seat at the opening of Parliament in November, 1768, fourteen months before he becomes of age. As he looked over the chamber that first day, he must have recognized most of the others that were assembling. The traditions and customs with which Parliament carried on its work must also have seemed familiar. When, during recesses, members mingled in the various taverns and clubs in the Westminster area, Fox must have known as many headwaiters as anyone there. And as he listened to the debates of those opening weeks, he heard scores of commonplace arguments pass in review. Perhaps he saw at once that he could speak better than most of his colleagues.

When, therefore, he rose to speak, he was not overawed by anything he saw before him. He felt as much at home as if he had been a member for years. In one of his first appearances he addressed the house with "great spirit" and in "correct parliamentary language," entering "very deeply into the question of constitutional principles."[25] Among those who listened to these early speeches with admiration was Henry Fox himself, who, in the gallery, must have recalled some of his own debates. If in the galleries those days others were present—schoolmates, teachers, old friends, ancestral ghosts from the past like Louise de Kéroualle and Sir Stephen Fox—they, too, must have observed that the strengths and weaknesses of Fox's education were amply reflected in the parliamentary speeches of his early career.

[25] Sir Richard Heron to Sir Charles Bunbury, quoted in Russell, I, 53. Henry Fox wrote: "I hear it spoke of by everybody as a most extraordinary thing." Even a parliamentary reporter felt compelled to write into his shorthand record: "Mr. Charles Fox spoke very well."

G.B.S. AND THE RIVAL QUEENS—DUSE AND BERNHARDT

E. J. West

I HAVE written and spoken much in recent years of the distinction in dramatic criticism between the work of the impressionist, recording the adventures of his soul among real or alleged masterpieces, and that of the analyst, the trained, objective, articulate observer of what he hears and sees. Here I would speak of the critical reactions to a unique experience, the appearance in London of Sarah Bernhardt and Eleanora Duse, simultaneously, and frequently in the same parts, in May and June 1895, recorded by that great analyst, Bernard Shaw. I would use as a foil the reactions of his friend, the impressionistic Scot, William Archer.

Archer, with stubborn determination and a commendable resistance to his normal habit of falling asleep when enjoying himself in the theatre, struggled valiantly to account for the different effects produced upon his adventuring soul when exposed to the work of God's masterpieces Sarah and Eleanora, and he was troubled sufficiently to attempt some careful probing into the causes which produced those effects. But his temperament, his critical constitution and habits, his moral prejudices, all conditioned his response. When he first saw Duse in May of 1893, for instance, he could at first only declare her "the most absorbingly interesting actress I ever saw," and her Camille "one of the landmarks of my theatrical experience."[1] Shaw left no record of the experience he surely had at this time; his passion for great acting was too strong for him to have missed seeing Duse, but his bread-and-butter job then was the criticism of music.

When both Duse and Bernhardt performed toward the end of the 1893-1894 season, Archer did not at once perceive the opportunities offered to compare in detail the methods and effects of two alleged great actresses. But in late May he was led by the urging of a music critic (*not* G.B.S., he insisted) and by Shaw's declaring that he could "not trust himself to speak" of Calvé's Santuzza in *Cavalleria Rusticana,* to attend the operatic version. He felt called upon to point out slyly the most unprecedented use by "this accomplished rhetorician" of "the figure known as *aposiopesis,* or eloquent silence."[2] But Archer simply did not *like* music: "In the very process of translation into this tumultuous, tempestuous, multitudinous tone-speech, dramatic emotion seems to me to lose its appeal to our intimate, human sympathies."[3] And so, although he conceded Calvé's magnificent physical gifts and technical accomplishments, he vastly preferred, as infinitely more intense and emotional in effect, "the haggard, inarticulate, ungainly little Santuzza" of Duse, the "very triumph and

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[1] William Archer, *The Theatrical 'World' of 1893* (London, 1894), p. 126.

[2] William Archer, *The Theatrical 'World' of 1894* (London, 1895), pp. 160-161.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

miracle of realism." Realism to Archer meant that Duse *was* "the Italian peasant in every gesture and attitude," as clearly a daughter of the soil as Millet's peasants.[4] Her appearance as Mirandolina in Goldoni's *La Locandiera* on the same program made him realize that her success, while having "the appearance of absolute nature," was "the outcome of conscious, deliberate study and art," but as usual he offered no detailed record or analyses of examples of that art.[5] In the column beside Archer's criticism appeared Shaw's weekly music review. He, of course, disagreed with Archer completely about the superiority of drama to opera, declaring flatly that "the superior intensity of musical expression" made "the opera far more real than the play," and that Calvé's Santuzza "was irresistibly moving and beautiful, and fully capable of sustaining the inevitable comparison with Duse's." But he admitted that Duse still made "the play more credible" by making the character "not only intensely pitiable, but hopelessly unattractive," thus motivating Turiddu's preference for Lola.[6] Aside from this noting of a dramatic effect scored, however, in this instance there is not much difference between either the methods or the conclusions of the two critics.

However, barely three months after Shaw had changed from music to dramatic criticism by joining Frank Harris's *Saturday Review* at the beginning of 1895, he elected to devote his column to a review of "Mr William Archer's Criticisms," those for the preceding year having just been published as *The Theatrical 'World' of 1894*. He recorded that Archer accused him often of having "no real love of art, no enjoyment of it, only a faculty for observing performances, and an interest in the intellectual quality of plays," and was led into a penetrating and clarifying definition of the differences between the two methods of criticism espoused by Archer and himself.

> For him there is illusion in the theatre; for me there is none. I can make imaginary assumptions readily enough; but for me the play is not the thing, but its thought, its purpose and feeling, and its execution. And as most modern plays have no thought, and are absolutely vulgar in purpose and feeling, I am mainly interested in their execution. But in these criticisms of Mr Archer . . . there is little that is memorable about the execution, and that little has reference solely to the effect on the illusion. Even those pages in which, because they deal with such famous executants as Duse, Bernhardt, Rehan, and Calvé, the critic is compelled to take the execution as his main theme, he still makes the congruity of the artist's performance with the illusion of the story his criterion for excellence in the acting. In a very interesting comparison of Duse's Santuzza in Cavalleria Rusticana with Calvé's, he declares that "the instinct of the world assigns a higher rank to pure mimetics than to even the highest so-called lyric acting." Now I confess that even to me the illusion created by Duse was so strong that the scene comes back to me almost as an event which I actually witnessed; whereas Calvé's performance was unmistakeably an opera at Covent Garden. Looking at Duse, I pitied Santuzza as I have often pitied a real woman in the streets miserably trying, without a single charm to aid her, to beg back the affections of some Cockney Turiddu. But who has ever seen in the streets anything like Calvé's Santuzza, with her passion, her beauty, her intensity, her singing borne aloft by the orchestra? To Mr Archer, this is the condemnation of Calvé's performance and the justification of Duse's. Every element, even though it be an element of artistic force, which interferes with the credibility of the scene, wounds him, and is so much to the bad. To him acting, like scene painting, is merely a means to an end; that end being to make him believe. To me the play is only the means, the end being the expression by the arts of the actor, the poet, the musician. Anything that makes this expression more vivid, whether it be versification, or an orchestra, or a deliberately artificial delivery of the lines,

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[6] Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94* (London, 1932), III, 228.

is so much to the good for me, even though it may destroy all the verisimilitude of the scene. I do not for a moment set up this critical attitude of mine as standing to Mr Archer's in the relation of the right attitude to the wrong attitude. I only introduce it to make his more intelligible by contrast.[7]

I refrain from comment.

Of the two critics, Shaw was the first to arrive in print in the famous June of 1895 with a magnificently witty piece on Sarah and her playwright which gave to the history of dramatic criticism and to the language the invaluable word "Sardoodledom." Aside from incidental comment on her golden voice, Shaw's only extended notice of Bernhardt previously had been made in April of 1890 when, as critic for *The Star*, he had visited Paris to witness her performance in Barbier's and Gounod's *Joan of Arc* at the Porte St. Martin and in "The Passion, a mystery in five parts" by Edmund Haracourt, at the Winter Circus. Shaw thus had the chance to encounter "the divine Sarah" both as a saint ("she sends the lines out in a plaintive stream of melody," he wrote, "throughout which only a fine ear can catch the false ring. You would almost swear they mean something and that she was in earnest.") and as "a divine character, that of the Virgin Mary, no less." He noted that she doubled as Mary Magdalen.[8]

But to return to his reaction to Sarah's appearance in Sardou's *Gismonda*, which he called the "latest edition of the Kiralfian entertainment which Madame Bernhardt has for years past dragged from sea to sea in her Armada of transports"; he found the experience of witnessing it "surpassingly dreary, although . . . happily relieved by very long waits between the acts." This is not mere cheap wit; to anyone familiar with Shaw's normal disgust with lengthy intermissions, it is definite and devastating criticism. He took specific exception to the famous " 'voix celeste' stop which Madame Bernhardt, like a sentimental New England villager with an American organ, keeps always pulled out." As "a self-respecting critic" he refused, on the basis of Sarah's and Sardou's persistence in repetition of the "hackneyed and old-fashioned," "the flagrantly vulgar and commerical," to consider her "a dramatic artist of the first rank"; at his most charitable, he found her work in Sardou only "a high modern development of the circus and the waxworks." He concluded: "In the first ranks of art there is a place for the methods of Duse, and for the drama in which emotion exists only to make thought live and move us, but none for Sarah Bernhardt and the claptraps which Sardou contrives for her."[9] Even the impressionistic and normally impressionable Archer, reviewing *Gismonda* for both *The World* and *The New Budget*, could not take the affair seriously and tabulated a list of Sarah's "amours and homicides" with the comment: "Some one to cajole and some one to murder are the two necessities of artistic existence for Madame Sarah Bernhardt; and the Eminent Academician is her most active purveyor of victims."[10]

The next week both critics found more critical substance to work upon in reviewing Duse's appearance as Césarine in one of Sarah's great successes, the younger Dumas' *La Femme de Claude*. Both were almost completely overwhelmed by the power of her acting in a somewhat paltry part. Archer

[7] Bernard Shaw, *Our Theatres in the Nineties* (London, 1932), I, 91-92.

[8] *London Music in 1888-89 as Heard by Corno di Bassetto (Later Known as Bernard Shaw) with Some Further Autobiographical Particulars* (London, 1937), pp. 347-348.

[9] *Our Theatres in the Nineties*, I, 137-138.

[10] William Archer, *The Theatrical 'World' of 1895* (London, 1896), fn., pp. 184-185.

typically cavilled at the immorality of the character but reflected that Duse might "simply recognize in the part an opportunity for pure *acting*." More perceptively than usual, he noted that "she had made for herself a sort of sultry beauty, which fell away, in moments of dejection and defeat, and left her haggard and sere." He was ecstatic over Césarine's great scene with Claude in the second act, over the strength and subtlety, the control and energy, combined. Still distressed by the absence of his beloved "commonplace and measured" "tone of ordinary drawing-room emotion," Archer talked himself into the conviction that Dumas in this play wished to portray "incarnate Evil," "the Scarlet Woman at her highest potentiality," and praised Duse for achieving in acting terms what was demanded. In a rather fine phrase, he declared her "absolute mistress alike of the rhetoric of speech and of the rhetoric of sex." Of her playing here, in most of *Camille,* and throughout *La Locandiera,* he flatly announced, "There can at no time have been greater acting than this," but he still prized most Duse's achievement of the "illusion of absolute nature."[11]

Earlier in the week Shaw most typically had remarked: "I should say without qualification that [Duse's Césarine] is the best modern acting I have ever seen, were it not that the phrase suggests a larger experience of first-rate acting in this department than I possess. I have only seen Salvini and Ristori in their historic-heroic parts, or in Shakespear; and my experience of Coquelin is limited to Molière and such plays of our own day as Les Surprises de Divorce." And such parts, he noted, were pre-Wagner and pre-Ibsen. Duse, then, was "the first actress whom we have seen applying the methods of the great school to characteristically modern parts or to characteristically modern conceptions of old parts." As an "attentive observer" he recalled having seen, once in Henry Irving (as—of all parts—Claude Melnotte in *The Lady of Lyons)* and frequently in Ellen Terry before she left the Court for the Lyceum, less frequently thereafter, "tentative approaches" to Duse's "perfected style." Proceeding analytically, he recorded Janet Achurch's closer approximation to that style "in subtlety, continuity, and variety of detail, and in beauty of execution." But Duse, he declared with admirable shrewdness, was actually aided "by the fortunate sternness of Nature in giving her nothing but her genius"; the contrast being Ellen's personal charm and Janet's good looks added to "a large share of that power of expressing all the common emotions with extraordinary intensity which makes the vulgar great actress of the Bernhardt school." But Duse represented "the great school in its perfect integrity" just because "without her genius she would be a plain little woman of no use to any manager," but *with* her genius she became "so fascinating" to his type of observer that it became "positively difficult to attend to the play instead of attending wholly to her." In contrast to Archer's begging of the question and babbling of "the illusion of absolute nature," Shaw took a firm deep critical breath and proceeded in a beautiful passage to analyze "the process by which an actress is built up." To him this was a process of devout study, invention of new points and executive business, development of force and smoothness of execution, and finally "an integration of the points into a continuous whole, at which stage the actress appears to make no points at all, and to proceed in the most unstudied and

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 192.

'natural' way. This rare consummation Duse has reached." He continued:

> Take, as a very simple illustration, the business of Camille's tying up the flowers in the third act. It seems the most natural thing in the world; but it is really the final development of a highly evolved dance with the arms—even, when you watch it consciously, a rather prolonged and elaborate one. The strokes of character have grown up in just the same way. And this is the secret of the extraordinary interest in such acting. There are years of work, bodily and mental, behind every instant of it—work, mind, not mere practice and habit, which is quite a different thing. It is the rarity of the gigantic energy needed to sustain this work which makes Duse so exceptional; for the work is in her case highly intellectual work, and so requires energy of a quality altogether superior to the mere head of steam needed to produce Bernhardtian explosions with the requisite regularity. With such high energy, mere personal fascination becomes a thing which the actress can put off and on like a garment. Sarah Bernhardt has nothing but her own charm, for the exhibition of which Sardou contrives love scenes—save the mark. Duse's own private charm has not yet been given to the public. She gives you Césarine's charm, Marguerite Gauthier's charm, the charm of La Locandiera, the charm, in short, belonging to the character she impersonates; and you are enthralled by its reality and delighted by the magical skill of the artist without for a moment feeling any complexity either on your own part or hers in the passion represented.

Shaw ended by pointing the moral that he had made the best argument possible for the right of the actress to demand "supreme admiration" for her art while claiming "perfect respect" for her inviolability as a person, as a woman.[12]

While it is possible that certain of the comment in Shaw's extended analytic comparison of the two actresses written the following week may have brought a reaction from the Italian artist, it seems to me more likely that it was the passage just quoted to which Shaw referred when, more than a year later, in September of 1896, he was coaching Ellen Terry by correspondence for the forthcoming Lyceum *Cymbeline*. Following some advice on becoming an actress and "making points," he wrote, with pardonable pride:

> I have sat watching Duse in Camille, analyzing all her play with the million or so of points of which it originally consisted, and admiring beyond expression the prodigious power of work that built it all up. And now, I said to myself, I will show what criticism is; and I gave my analysis duly in the Saturday—and sure enough there presently comes a majestic letter from the Secretary of State. The Signora Duse, it declared, was unaccustomed to be even conscious of the unspeakable littlenesses which her work called forth, whether in praise or blame, from the insects of the Press. But the S.D. could appreciate merit even in abject occupations; and as I had shown some power of at least understanding the very hard work which the S.D. had devoted to her art, she permitted herself for a moment to betray consciousness of the Press, and even to thank me.[13]

The slightly affected tone here, most untypical of Shaw, was, I think, indicative more of a somewhat embarrassed and self-conscious pleasure than of any personal pique. Surely the letter he refers to is that written by Laurence Alma Tadema, son of the famous artist and obviously Shaw's "Secretary of State": "Any intelligent and understanding attempt to probe the causes of results commonly swallowed down without consideration, and any recognition of the *labour* of any artist—any insight into the complexity of the details that go to make up the presented whole—is so rare . . . that your article gave Madame Duse very sincere delight."[14] Such gratitude from the ever-unapproachable Duse was indeed recognition of the keenness of Shaw's criticism.

[12] *Our Theatres in the Nineties*, I, 144-148.

[13] *Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw. A Correspondence*, edited by Christopher St. John (New York, 1931), p. 53.

[14] R. F. Rattray, *Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle* (New York, 1951), p. 128.

Duse's next appearance was as Magda in Sudermann's *Heimat*. Familiar with the script and excited over Sarah's interpretation, bits of which he remembered as superb, Archer yet declared he "had not the remotest conception" of the possibilities of play or part "until Duse threw into it the heat of her creative imagination and the light of her incomparable executive power." Indeed he doubted that Sudermann himself fully appreciated what he had written unless perchance he had seen Duse play Magda.[15] Both Archer and Shaw in their separate ways were stirred to answer the combined challenge of the two actresses appearing simultaneously in the same part and of a journalist named Street writing that the London critics showed a woeful indifference to acting *as* acting, that is, as an art. Archer, Heaven knows, normally demanded the result (illusion) and did neglect detailing the effect of "executive power" which achieved it. But throughout his reviews of late May and of June 1895, he increasingly noted separate pieces of business used by each actress, especially in the parts they both played; and in *The New Budget* on June 16th, he met, angrily for him, head-on the statement by "a gentleman in *The Pall Mall Gazette*" to the effect that "Sarah possesses Genius, . . . Duse . . . nothing but Talent." Under the title of "The Rival Queens" (yes, I seem to have cribbed my punning title, but I had actually forgotten Archer's article when I first conceived this paper), he contrasted Sarah's stature, presence, pictorial queenly dignity, more evenly beautiful voice, incomparable art of poetic diction, sustained mellifluousness of delivery, with Duse's high inspiration, wide versatility, consummate accomplishment, to decide that Sarah's complete lack of taste and conscience might make her "an international institution," but not a great artist. So to him Duse was Genius—gold; Sarah only Talent—cast iron. On the stage Duse, "a plain little woman," was not plain but exquisite, not little but great, "more incomparably *alive* on the stage than anyone that I remember to have seen." One of his comments, "Even to the very finger-tips, she lives the life of the character,"[16] always makes me remember Shaw's glancing but suggestive note to Ellen Terry two years later: "Is it not curious that the one thing not forgivable in an actor is *being* the part instead of playing it? Duse plays La Femme de Claude with an impossible perfection, and yet never touches the creature with the tips of her fingers."[17] Again the conflicting attitudes and ideals are epitomized: Archer cherished illusion; Shaw resolutely *observed* technique. Archer tried hard to analyze the Rival Queens; he could reach the conclusion that "even where Duse is wrong, she is superbly wrong; and where she is right, she in incomparably right and beautiful."[18] He could advance beyond the average critic in perceiving that Sarah did not so much chant as croon, "playing her own character, a character of exquisite artifice."[19] But he was content with the illusion—for him Duse remained a new, a great, personal experience.

On the same day that Archer's "Rival Queens" appeared, *The Saturday* carried Shaw's second analytical piece on Duse and Bernhardt. He began: "Clearly now or never is the time for a triumphant refutation of the grievance of the English actor against the English Press: namely, that hardly any critic knows enough about acting to be able to distinguish between an effective part

[15] *Theatrical 'World' of 1895*, p. 201.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.
[17] *Terry-Shaw Correspondence*, p. 161.
[18] *Theatrical 'World' of 1895*, p. 231.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

and a well played one, or between the bag of tricks which every old hand carries, and the stock of ideas and sense of character which distinguish the master-actor from the mere handy man."[20] Shaw's consistent attitude toward the durable Sarah was one of genial tolerance, and indeed he once remarked, "I could never do her justice or believe in her impersonations because she was so like my aunt Georgina," a remark which provoked from Hesketh Pearson the comment, "As with several of his funniest sallies, this was a simple statement of fact."[21] So it was most characteristic of him to write that Sarah's appearance as Magda represented a "relapse . . . into her old profession of serious actress." Duse's prompt challenge by taking up the part three nights later made possible a contrast "as extreme as . . . could possibly be between artists who have finished their twenty years of apprenticeship to the same profession under closely similar conditions." In one marvelously, even devilishly, shrewd paragraph he annihilated Sarah's art with élan and witty fairness. He perceived her charm, that of "a jolly maturity, rather spoilt and petulant, perhaps, but always ready with a sunshine-through-the-clouds smile if only she be made much of." He admired her "splendacious" jewels, her at last well "upholstered" figure, her artistic beauty (he noticed the rouge on her ears, in her dimples, on her finger-tips, her lips "like a newly painted pillar box"), an entirely "inhuman and incredible" beauty intended to ask the audience with immediate irresistibility and piquancy, "Now who would ever suppose that I am a grandmother?" a beauty which could be "imitated by a barmaid with unlimited pin money and a row of footlights before her instead of the handles of a beer-engine." But this artful, clever, coaxing, "childishly egotistical" art was not that of "making you think more highly or feel more deeply"; rather it was that of "finding out your weaknesses and practising on them—cajoling you, harrowing you, exciting you—on the whole, fooling you." And it was an ever unchanging art: "She does not enter into the leading character; she substitutes herself for it."[22]

In contrast, Duse was always different, "every part . . . a separate creation." In the very matter of make-up she sought not to deceive but to invite minute opera-glass scrutiny of lines and shadows. Yet she "is not in action for five minutes before she is a quarter of a century ahead of the handsomest woman in the world." Objecting to Sarah's "conscious drooping of the eyelashes and the long carmined lips," he claimed that Duse, "with a tremor of the lips which you feel rather than see and which lasts half an instant, touches you straight to the very heart; and there is not a line in the face or a cold tone in the grey shadow that does not give poignancy to that tremor." The fingers of both hands would serve to catalogue Sarah's stock both of "attitudes, and facial effects" and of "dramatic ideas." But Duse seemed infinitely various in her ability by pose and motion to express delicately but vividly "every idea, every shade of thought and mood." Shaw had noticed carefully Duse's ambidexterity, her supple grace, like that of "a gymnast and a panther." But he pursued the analysis of the carefully acquired perfection of Duse deliberately to find the "high quality," the "indescribable distinction" of her acting in her possession of "a *moral* charm." Shaw insisted: "It is because Duse's range includes these

[20] *Our Theatres in the Nineties*, I, 148-149.
[21] Hesketh Pearson, *G.B.S. A Full Length Portrait* (New York, 1942), p. 149.
[22] *Our Theatres in the Nineties*, I, 149-150.

moral high notes, if I may so express myself, that her compass, extending from the depths of a mere predatory creature like Claude's wife up to Marguerite Gauthier at her kindest or Magda at her bravest, so immeasurably dwarfs the poor little octave and a half in which Sarah Bernhardt plays such pretty canzonets and stirring marches."[23]

It was probably precisely Madame Bernhardt's lack of these "moral high notes" which prevented her from communicating to the audience what seemed to Shaw the chief theme of Sudermann's play, the modern woman's revolt against the traditional ideal of home which demanded from women self-sacrifice and abject slavery. He frankly doubted that Sarah had ever suspected "any such theme in the play; though Duse, with one look at Schwartze, the father, nailed it to the stage as the subject of the impending dramatic struggle before she had been five minutes on the scene." In great detail he described another such "stroke of acting" as the perfect example of Duse's ability to express the most minute physical indication of inner reaction. The famous key-scene in *Heimat* is in the third act when Magda's former lover visits her family home. Shaw recalled Sarah's light and pleasant, good-humored and "good fellow" playing of the scene. "Her self-possession was immense; the peach-bloom never altered by a shade." But with Duse he was fascinated by watching her face from the moment the card announcing the man's arrival was given to her, watching her apprehension, her tentative greeting, her acceptance of his compliments and flowers, until finally

> she evidently felt she had got it safely over and might allow herself to think at her ease, and to look at him to see how much he had altered. Then a terrible thing happened to her. She began to blush; and in another moment she was conscious of it, and the blush was slowly spreading and deepening until, after a few vain efforts to avert her face or to obstruct his view of it without seeming to do so, she gave up and hid the blush in her hands. After this feat of acting I did not need to be told why Duse does not paint an inch thick. I could detect no trick in it; it seemed to me a perfectly genuine effect of the dramatic imagination.

In concluding the review, Shaw compared the audience-reaction to that accorded Sarah's Gismonda and Mrs. Pat Campbell's Fédora earlier in the season. He declared Duse's reception eclipsed both these, as her Magda had "annihilated" Sarah's. But here, he insisted:

> There was a real play, and an actress who understood the author and was a greater artist than he. And for me, at least, there was a confirmation of my sometimes flagging faith that a dramatic critic is really the servant of a high art, and not a mere advertiser of entertainments of questionable respectability of motive.[24]

Over a year later Shaw wrote to Ellen Terry that his excitement was so great that he returned to see Duse's Magda, even buying his own ticket—"a stupendous phenomenon." But this time "all the great passages escaped" the actress; but because "she played for all she was worth at that moment," and because she had by now carefully integrated her carefully studied high art, it was still "a great performance."[25]

Sarah's last appearance in this famous June of 1895 was in Rostand's *La Princess Lointaine*. Shaw waxed especially witty over the play as a whole and the whole question of French verse (which he neither liked nor understood); his one concession to Sarah was that at least she used appropriate, that is, minimal, make-up. But he used the better part of his column to emphasize again

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-154.

[25] *Terry-Shaw Correspondence*, p. 53.

the necessity of combining thorough study with unflagging industry to attain true perfection in the histrionic art, for to him Bernhardt's performance as the Princess proved that she could no longer bring "to her art the immense pressure of thought and labor which gains for the greatest artists that rarest of all fruits, faith in their real selves." Her "exceptional power" enabled her to end the third act with "one of those displays of vehemence" by then "expected from her as part of the conventional Bernhardtian exhibition." But this exhibition was "pure rant, and nothing else," full of sound and fury, but definitely signifying nothing and resulting in nothing but a final exit in "a forced frenzy," "a blind whirlwind of roaring energy"

> quite different from those effects which great players produce at a dramatic climax by carefully working up the scene, through sheer force of acting, to its pitch at which, when the crucial moment comes, the effect makes itself, the artist's work being then over, though the audience is persuaded that some stupendous magnetic explosion has taken place.[26]

Shaw cited three examples of what he meant: Ristori's climax in Schiller's *Mary Stuart,* Salvini's last scene as Hamlet, Duse's Act III ending in *Magda.* He conceded that Sarah still had "the strength to raise the pressure to hurricane pitch," but she did it without either purpose or reason; the strength of Ristori, of Salvini, of Duse, was "completely controlled and utilized." Their greatness consisted in "their unfailing sense of thought, feeling, and action, and their prodigious industry." And so his final judgment was that where Duse was "magnificent," Bernhardt was "bogus."[27]

During the visits of the Rival Queens to London, then, at the end of the 1894-1895 season, Archer struggled really to understand how acting achieved its effects, but as the initial impression of what he insisted upon believing the Duse personality wore off, he tended to become rather pettily captious of minor faults, and by the time he witnessed Sarah as Rostand's princess, although he valiantly tried to remember that she was "a creature of exquisite artifice," he still succumbed to her beauty and to the melody of her voice. Was Shaw thinking of his Scot friend when he declared of Sarah's intoning in Rostand, "The man who finds melody in one sustained note would find exquisite curves in a packing case."[28] For my own part, I cannot much regret that I never saw "the divine Sarah." I prefer the exquisite curves of our own durable international institution, Marlene Dietrich. Sarah had talent and a trained technique, but she neglected that "art of study" which Shaw had first praised in Duse and which enabled "the finest actors—Jefferson, Coquelin, Salvini, Duse," as he wrote in October of 1895, "to act so beautifully that you cannot take your eyes off them even while you do not understand what they are saying." And to him the pity of it lay in that "the beauty seems so spontaneous and inevitable that it is generally quite impossible to persuade their admirers that there is any art of study in their acting at all."[29] For us the pity of it must lie in the absence today of critics with the art of Shavian observation and analysis, still more in the absence of such products of the art of study as he observed and analyzed—Adelaide Ristori, Tommasso Salvini, Joseph Jefferson, Constant Coquelin, Eleanora Duse.

[26] *Our Theatres in the Nineties,* I, 159-160.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.,* p. 212.

"STYLE" IN THE GOLDEN AGE

Howard H. Martin

TWO of the things we mean by "style" are the characteristic or unique way a man expresses himself in words, and the fairly universal preference of speakers and writers of an historical period for some standard of expression or mode of casting ideas into language. While studies of "style" in the first sense are fairly common, considerations of "style" in the second are, as far as I know, all but nonexistent among critics of American public address. This lack and the challenging complexity of the subject provoked this attempt to identify and explain one such stylistic period in American public address—the first half of the nineteenth century, the era Edward Parker called the "Golden Age" of American oratory.

While in this attempt I have examined only occasional addresses, not political speeches or forensic addresses, I do not regard this limitation as material. Only in those addresses which have been carefully prepared and in which the most studious attention has presumably been paid to the choice of appropriate forms of expression would one expect to find the quality of "style" in its clearest and most apprehensible form. Nor does it seem unreasonable to suspect that a mode of expression adopted in a carefully prepared address would also mark in less perfect ways the speech of the same man in other situations. Thus, Phi Beta Kappa orations, dedicatory addresses, eulogies, and anniversary addresses of all kinds have been examined, the largest single body of speeches having been some five hundred Fourth of July orations.

That there was a style distinctive to occasional addresses during the first half of the nineteenth century has been observed by writers then and now. George T. Curtis, Boston orator on the Fourth of July, 1841, characterized the style as "general declamation," and "mere oratory."[1] A reviewer of Sumner's "The True Grandeur of Nations" gave this account of the style of the period: "Borrowing from the mother country the homely Anglo-Saxon phrase, and from our Gallic ally the swell and pomp of Parisian declamation we have seasoned the mixture with enough patriotic truculence to establish our title to the compound."[2] Edward T. Channing called the attention of his Harvard undergraduates to "these vagrant and showy generalities which form a large part of our demonstrative orations,"[3] while another orator admitted to his audience that he knew many of them had come to expect from the anniversary speaker "a drift of fine phrases, polished paragraphs, and soft meaningless words."[4] Able to look back upon this era from an age of apparent decline, James Bryce identified the predominant style of American oratory as "turgid and inflated," a fault he thought exaggerated

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[1] *The True Uses of American Revolutionary History* (Boston, 1841), p. 3.

[2] "The True Grandeur of Nations," *North American Review*, LXI (October 1845), 521.

[3] *Lectures Read to the Seniors in Harvard College* (Boston, 1856), p. 246.

[4] William Balch, *Dangers of Our Republic: An Oration delivered in Chester, Vt., July 4, 1857* (New York, 1857), pp. 5-6.

in the occasional or commemorative address, "for on these great occasions the speaker feels bound to talk his very tallest."[5]

Most recent of thoughtful observers of the style of early nineteenth-century oratory, Richard M. Weaver has declared its essential element to be its "spaciousness." "Between the speech and the things it is meant to signify," says Weaver, "something stands—perhaps it is only an empty space—but something is there to prevent immediate realizations and references. . . . Concepts seem not to have definite correspondences, but to be general, and as it were, mobile."[6]

Weaver traces this "spaciousness" to the ubiquitous uncontested term, the rhetorical syllogism, and a kind of stereotyped manner of illustration. His description of the style, especially his analysis of the quality of "spaciousness," is stimulating and useful. But his explanations for it do not fully suggest why this style should have been distinctive to early nineteenth-century oratory. I should like to suggest in the remainder of this paper that one comprehensive explanation for the distinctiveness of the style of oratory of this era is the particular sensibility stirred up by the wave of Romanticism as it washed across America.

Although it is difficult to separate those characteristics of a piece of discourse which might be called "inventional" from those which are "stylistic," since, as has been remarked, "the one was often imbedded, entangled, and interfused through the other in a way which bade defiance to gross mechanical separations,"[7] the three elements discussed here as the most significant factors of the style of this era will, I think, be accepted as primarily stylistic factors. These characteristics were: (1) a marked affinity for generic language, (2) a preference for allusion and epithet in the place of precise names, and (3) an addiction to imagery drawn from certain sources of experience.

1.

First of these characteristics was the orator's choice of generic rather than specific language, his choice of words that were far removed from their referents. For example, an orator noticed "the flourishing state of science in all its branches"[8] rather than the mundane facts that Harvard and Yale had recently endowed chairs of chemistry, that 1,573 inventions had been patented within the last year, or that the *American Journal of Science* now reached 4,267 readers. He was more apt to say, "Our public buildings are capacious and magnificent,"[9] than that the national capitol, built at a cost of two million dollars, has two halls each large enough to seat three hundred members and has office space for three hundred legislators. He might assert that "many of our enterprising youth are now traversing sea and land in the pursuit of science—some are seated in the celebrated schools of medicine and natural science—some are in the great cities examining the

[5] *The American Commonwealth* (London, 1889), II, 653.

[6] *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 164-5. Weaver's discussion of the style of this period is provocative not only in its matter but in its method of offering sizable pieces representative of the oratorical prose of the time followed by careful and precise analytical comments about the characteristics observed in the quoted passage—a striking improvement over the vague adjectivizing of some other critics.

[7] Thomas De Quincey, "Style," in *Representative Essays on the Theory of Style*, ed. William Brewster (New York, 1921), p. 31.

[8] James Campbell, *An Oration, in Commemoration of the Independence of the United States . . . . July 4, 1787* (Philadelphia, 1787), p. 13.

[9] Adrian Hegeman, *An Oration, delivered on the Fourth of July, 1801, in the Township of Oyster-Bay . . . .* (New York, 1801), p. 14.

fabrics of art, the machinery and process of manufacturing—the movements and evolutions of commerce, the complex reactions of political economy."[10]

Why did speakers of this period espouse the general term? One commentator has suggested that four forces may be at work upon a writer: the influence of the literary group with which he happens to be associated at the time, the unique personality of the man which is the product of congenital tendencies tempered by his experiences, the "all-pervading spirit of the age, the literary *Zeitgeist*," and the literary tradition which the writer follows.[11] An examination of the last two of these influences may be most useful in finding causes for the style of an historical period.

Aristotle's advice had been that "for popular speaking, we see, the style is in every way comparable to the painting of scenery in large. The greater the crowd, the more distant is the point of view; so that, in the speech and sketch alike, minute touches are superfluous, and blur the effect."[12] His recommendation may have found favor with speakers in this era inasmuch as it reinforced a feeling that was identified with the Romantic writers and other creative artists of the early nineteenth century—the feeling for Views. From this sentiment for Views, epitomized in the line of Thomas Campbell, "'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view," the attitude of the Romantic movement has been generalized as *"a tendency away from actuality."*[13]

The Romantic admires Views because "in them is a certain blur or dimness, which prevents the eye from being lost in a throng of things positively known, and at the same time stirs one to guess at the infinite possibility the blur contains of things which might be known."[14]

This affinity for Views is indicative of the psychology of the Romantic movement in all its American manifestations. In the canvasses of American romantic painters, Washington Allston, Asher Durand, Thomas Cole, and others of the Hudson River School, can be seen this obsession with Views in which "distance lends enchantment." Allston's "Diana and her Nymphs in the Chase," and Cole's "Mt. Etna in the Wilderness," for instance, preserve the soft blur of general shapes "which prevents the eye from being lost in a throng of things positively known." And in Cole's "Expulsion from Eden" or his "John the Baptist in the Wilderness" is evident the "tendency away from actuality" which marked the Romantic movement both in Europe and America.[15]

American prose fiction, poetry, and drama of the first half of the nineteenth century also reflect in a somewhat more direct manner the preference for the general, especially in description. Bryant, for instance, declared:

> wide the wood recedes,
> And towns shoot up and fertile realms are till'd;
> The land is full of harvests and green meads;
> Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,
> Shine, disembowered. . . .[16]

And in the verses of James Gates Percival, William O. B. Peabody, Richard H. Dana, and Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney the preference for the general and for gen-

[10] DeWitt Clinton, "Discourse delivered at Schenectady, July 22, A.D. 1823, before the New York Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa," in E. B. Williston, *Eloquence of the United States* (Middletown, 1827), V, 517. See Weaver's discussion of this characteristic of style.

[11] Frederick E. Pierce, *Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation* (New Haven, 1918), p. 294.

[12] *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, trans. Lane Cooper (New York, 1932), p. 219.

[13] Lascelles Abercrombie, *Romanticism* (London, 1926), p. 49.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[15] Reproductions can be seen in James Thrall Soby and Dorothy C. Miller, *Romantic Painting in America* (New York, 1943), pp. 52, 54; and in *Romanticism in America*, ed. George Boas (Baltimore, 1940), Plate III.

[16] "The Western World," *Selections from the American Poets* (Dublin, 1834), p. 24.

eral language can be observed.[17] Notice a similar feeling in these lines from James Barker's poetic drama, *Superstition,* written in 1824:

> Our smiling fields wither'd by blight and blast
> The fruitful earth parch'd into eddying dust,—
> On our fair coast the strewings of wreck'd commerce. . . .[18]

But in the prose fiction of Cooper is the preference for general language in description most apparent. One passage will show the tendency although many could be given. This piece is from *The Pioneers* (1823): "Beautiful and thriving villages are found interspersed along the margins of small lakes, or situated at those points on streams which are favourable to manufacturing; and the neat and comfortable farms, with every indication of wealth about them, are scattered profusely through the vales, and even to the mountain tops. Roads diverge in every direction from the even and graceful bottoms of the valleys, to the most rugged and intricate passes of the hills. . . . Places for the worship of God abound with that frequency which characterizes a moral and reflecting people."[19]

Such examples as these taken from the painting, poetry, drama, and prose of the period suggest the effects of the Romantic mood upon creative artists who were caught up in it. This was the "all-pervading spirit of the age, the literary Zeitgeist," that insisted upon a style marked by generic language. That the Romantic movement worked upon occasional orators as well as those who were producing forms more generally recognized as *belles lettres* seems an inescapable conclusion. Their product was the fruit of deliberation and leisure and was always first a piece of written prose. Literary quality was expected in these orations. There is considerable evidence in the correspondence of the period that pamphlet versions of commemorative addresses, especially eulogies and Fourth of July orations, were widely circulated, carefully read, and unmercifully criticized for their stylistic excellence or deficiencies. Edward Channing called the men who composed them "literary orators" and looked for the day when they might form a class as "distinct and acknowledged as authors."[20] As creative artists they too were likely to be drawn up by the "spirit of the age," especially, as Pierce has noted, since the Zeitgeist exerts the most powerful influence upon a minor writer who "drives before its breath like a derelict."[21] Indeed, Arthur Lovejoy recommended to the historian of ideas the study of writers of lesser stature (in which group most occasional orators no doubt belong) because the trends of a period come to light more accurately in their writings than in the works of recognized genius.[22] Thus, answering the appeal of the Romantic movement, orators too found themselves drawn to generic language.

2.

When he was not speaking in the most general terms, an early nineteenth-century orator frequently approached his subject obliquely and suggestively through allusions or epithets rather than through precisely denotative labels. An orator might speak of "the Sage of Monticello" without naming Jefferson; he might apostrophize, "O! Glorious band of Philosophers!" and let his listeners discover that he meant the signers of the Declaration of Independ-

[17] See the poems of these and others in *Selections from the American Poet.*

[18] In Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Representative American Plays* (New York, 1917), p. 137.

[19] *The Pioneers* (Boston, 1898), pp. 1-2.

[20] *Lectures,* p. 65.

[21] Pierce, p. 294.

[22] *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 19-20.

ence. He might refer to the "monarchs of the waste that still people the wilds of the American continent," "the Patriarch of Quincy," "Sage of Mount Wollaston," "Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas," "Temple of Liberty," "the sabbath of Freedom," "Altar of Liberty," "the *Supreme Arbiter* of Nations," "ye fainted spirits," "Columbian Fair!" "ye virgin train," or "deathless Charter of our rights." In each case, the speaker seems unwilling to hold up the object of his discourse directly before the minds of his listeners, but chooses rather to offer a gentle association which may lead the listener's attention ultimately to that object.

Why this obliqueness? Why this avoidance of the denotative label? An answer to this question may lie in the feelings of this age about the utility of figurative language. A theory of rhetorical style owing a debt to Aristotle but carried into American schools and academies by the Scotch Presbyterian preacher Hugh Blair, apparently set as its principal criterion of style the "Golden Mean." "If it is too prolix," wrote Aristotle, "it will not be clear; nor yet if it is too compressed. Plainly now, the midway is befitting. And the means we have discussed will make the style give pleasure."[23] Hugh Blair also urged the choice of the "elegant" style (marked by judicious use of figures) as a compromise between the "dry" and "plain" styles (little or no figurative expression) and the "florid" style (profuse figurative elaboration), for the elegant style has "all the virtues of ornament without any of its excesses."[24] He who adopts such a style "pleases the fancy and the ear, while he informs the understanding."[25] Clarity and pleasure, then, were the ends urged for oratorical style. We must assume that adherents of this doctrine believed it was less clear to speak of Jefferson than to speak of the "sage of Monticello"; more was to be learned about the man and about the speaker's feelings for him from the last expression than from the simple name. It was, too, more pleasant to contemplate the Indian in his posture as "bronzed lord of the trackless wastes" than simply to hear the noun.

But it seems unjust to place exclusive emphasis upon the rhetorical tradition respected in the schools at this period, for the preference for one tradition or another may well reflect a set of values or affinities that alone dictated the style of an age, and, incidentally, drove the schools to certain textbooks. A basic question is: Why did the "plain style" of Puritan rhetoric influenced by William Ames and William Perkins give way to Hugh Blair's standards of elegance and the models offered by Cicero's orations?[26] Perhaps an answer to this question is to be found, partially at least, in the new-born Romantic sensibility. At least, the obliqueness of epithet seems to display a Romantic concern. The epithet loosed the Romantic imagination, broke the ties with reality, and held out a general prospect of the subject which was, thought the orator of the Golden Age, perhaps a truer vision of the object than that presented

[23] *Rhetoric*, p. 219.

[24] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London, 1812), II, 25.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1954), Chapter 12, describes the influence of Ames and Perkins in the reaction of Puritans against the 'metaphysical' preaching of the Laudians which was reflected in the Harvard curriculum of the seventeenth century and in her products. Warren Guthrie, "The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635-1850" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Speech, Northwestern University, June, 1940), pp. 81ff., records the renewed interest in the classical tradition as opposed to the Ramist system about mid-eighteenth century. Blair's *Lectures*, of course, were not used in American colleges until 1785.

by the denotative label.[27] This is not to say that epithets found currency only in the speeches of this period; it is only to observe from the frequency of their use that the psychology of the Romantic era encouraged this way of apprehending.

3.

A third distinguishing feature of the oratorical style of this period was the imagery of the usual oration. Imagery seems to have been drawn from a few characteristic sources: from classical history and mythology, from the English Bible, and from nature.

That orators frequently compared American events and persons to those of classical times has been noticed by other commentators. A Fourth of July orator in 1858 referred to this "general custom of our Fourth of July orators, to draw upon the ancients and their mythology" for comparisons.[28] Lorenzo Sears observed "in the early oratory of our country, an almost boyish frequency of reference to classical antiquity."[29]

Evidence to support these claims is not far to find. Congress was frequently compared to an "Amphyctionic Council," legislators were the counterparts of Solon and Lycurgus, Washington was "the American Cincinnatus," American historians recalled Livy and Tacitus, doctors were disciples of Galen and Hippocrates, traitors were Brutii, Cassii, and Sempronii, and tyrants were Catalines. Bravery was epitomized in the character of Leonidas, patriotism in the name of Epaminondas. Of free education it was said: "No dragon guards the Hesperian tree . . . ; the blooming fruit hangs tempting to all who would pluck and eat." Our revolution when compared to that of France was "but as the first achievement of Hercules in his cradle to the wonderful labors that were reserved for his manhood." Gorgons, Chimeras, Hydras, Diogenes and Minerva, and the popular pair, Scylla and Charybdis, were all pressed into service by the commemorative orator.

Biblical imagery was common. American national loyalty urged that we "hold the flaming sword at the gate of our Eden, and guard the Tree of Life." It was asserted that God watched over "the ark of their political safety amid the waters of the great deluge" of British encroachment. The colonies were led by an American Moses or Joshua out of the tyrannical grasp of a British Pharoah. Certain phrases were used so commonly as to be considered hackneyed even in that period. Among these were "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks," "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage," and "They shall sit every man under his own vine and under his fig-tree."

Nature provided the third major source of imagery in the occasional addresses of this era. Images of strength, brilliance, or constancy seem to have been drawn from the world of natural phenomena. Eliphalet Nott saw Hamilton standing "amidst the varying tides of party, firm, like the rock, which . . . remains unshaken by the storms which agitate the ocean."[30] Fisher Ames feared

[27] There seems some kinship between this use of epithet and the 'kennings' of Anglo-Saxon literature—metaphors intended to be deceptive in their oblique reference to an object of veneration. Herbert Read, *English Prose Styles* (Boston, 1955), p. 31, notes this primitive association of a thing and its name which placed a taboo on the use of the direct name in speech.

[28] Henry C. Johnson, *An Oration delivered . . . at Conneautville, Pa., on Saturday, July 3d, 1858* (Conneautville, 1858), pp. 3-4.

[29] *The Occasional Address* (New York, 1898), p. 218.

[30] "A Discourse delivered in the City of Albany, Occasioned by the Death of Alexander Hamilton, July 9, 1804," in Williston, V, 220.

that people's passions, like a volcano, might erupt pouring forth lava "to blacken and consume the peace of our country."[31] Great men seemed to him as great rivers—"some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts; others, for their majestic silence and fulness of their streams."[32] To Emerson, the human mind appeared "one central fire, which, flaming out of the lips of Etna, lightens the towers and vineyards of Naples."[33]

Most frequent among images drawn from natural phenomena were those drawn from the activity of the heavens. Harrison Gray Otis called Hamilton a planet that "rose with full splendor, and emitted a constant stream of glorious light until the hour of its sudden and portentous eclipse."[34] Webster expanded the celestial vision in the climax of his eulogy on Adams and Jefferson.[35] Fisher Ames declared of Washington that "he attracts curiosity, like a newly discovered star, whose benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's farthest bounds."[36] Robert C. Winthrop likened Calhoun to the "southern Cross—that great constellation of the Southern hemisphere," and declared that his death had struck "a star of the first magnitude" from the heavens.[37] Emerson continually drew his imagery from the heavens. Poetry, he affirms in *The American Scholar,* will one day become our pole-star. "I had better never see a book," he says in another place, "than to be warped by its attraction clean out of my own orbit, and made a satellite instead of a system."[38]

The Romantic milieu seems to have established the rightness of the imagery in commemorative addresses of this period. Reliance upon classical history and mythology for comparisons, which might seem at first to reflect a rigid classicism, makes more sense when considered as another result of the Romantic urge to escape from the here and now to the distant and strange. In the republics of Greece and Rome, American patriots idealized the fruits of republican government, the virtue, the valor, and the energy of republican leaders. In these two earlier eras, Americans saw their own antecedents and, reasoning *a fortiori,* predicted their own destiny. It cannot be denied that the staple fodder of the schools was classical history, philosophy, rhetoric, politics, and poetry, and that conscientious students would doubtless have found it hard to escape the scenes of Attic struggle, the resonance of Roman oratory as they mused over their own productions. But the affinity for antiquity was more than the product of continuous acquaintance; Americans thought they saw in the Greek and Roman republics common experiences, common excellences, and common destinies. Their idealization of this epoch of the past—a product of their Romantic allegiances—gave orators a fund of imagery which they eagerly plumbed.

Prevalence of imagery drawn from the Bible probably owes to the Romantic sensibility this much: that the freeing of the imagination by Romantic rebels against a rigid classicism of form and unity opened the way, in all modes of expression, to figurative language as a shaft to pierce the imagination of

[31] "Eulogy on Washington," Williston, V, 153.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[33] "The American Scholar," in *Modern Eloquence,* ed. Thomas B. Read (Philadelphia, 1901), VIII, 434.
[34] "Eulogy on Alexander Hamilton," Williston, V, 153.
[35] "Discourse in Commemoration of the Lives and Services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson," Williston, V, 414.
[36] Williston, V, 139.
[37] Reed, IX, 1219-1220.
[38] *Ibid.*, VIII, 424.

listeners. As we have said, tastes in oratorical style shifted from the plain style of Puritan rhetoric to a somewhat more elaborate style recommended by Hugh Blair and exemplified in Cicero's orations, and this shift occurred as the wave of Romanticism swept over America. Although passages from the Bible were frequently referred to in Puritan sermons, they were not used as a source of imagery. Proof-texts, yes, but not as a fund of imagery. Far from being the very matrix of thought, Biblical quotations were often omitted entirely from printed versions of colonial sermons; a footnote directed the curious reader. But the image becomes vital in the speech of the early nineteenth century. When he views the citizen "under his own vine and fig tree," the orator has made the image bear the full burden of his thought; remove the image and the thought is torn away. In this later usage, then, the Bible became a fund of imagery. It was drawn upon frequently because its stories were well known, and perhaps because Biblical times held for the Romantic the charm of the remote and strange.

Like European and American Romantic writers, American ceremonial orators found an attraction in Nature of a different kind from men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, different, for example, from Puritan preachers and writers in America. Emerson's essay on "Nature" in 1836, which saw in all creation the counterpart of God, displayed a logical extension of the importance with which the Enlightenment had endowed man's habitat. Puritans saw God's hand stretched down as a warning to man's apostasy in storms, floods, comets, eclipses, earthquakes, and all manner of natural convulsions. But they knew God could be found only through the record of his sacred word in the Bible, as it was opened to men by his ministers. Growing reliance upon man's reason as a reflection of the nature of divinity was urged by the Deists, the Unitarians, and finally by the Transcendentalists, and man's attention was turned to the lessons his reason might extort from observations of Nature's workings. "To him," declared Bryant, "who in the love of Nature, holds communion with her visible forms, she speaks a various language." This celebration of Nature evoked a passionate response from all the arts. The Hudson River group of painters exalted the American landscape; Freneau, Bryant, Percival, Emerson—indeed, all American poets—cried up the glory of creation.

But while orators were drawn to Nature for imagery, they did not often take likenesses from commonplace occurrences like the falling of leaves or the opening of flowers. They preferred the convulsions of Nature—the same events that had obsessed the Puritans. Yet they did not see in such displays those "calamities" which God sent as warnings to men. But in these manifestations of magnificence beyond man's ability to create or control, they found their ultimate images of power, brilliance, and order.

It is striking to notice the continual return in the addresses and other writings of this period to images of the heavens, as if majesty and excellence could be caught only in these terms. Henry Thoreau's cry is revealing:

> O Nature! I do not aspire
> To be the highest in thy quire,—
> To be a meteor in the sky,
> Or comet that may range on high . . . .[39]

And Emerson, in the opening statement of his philosophical position, the essay "Nature," asserted, "One might think

[39] "Nature," in Harry R. Warfel *et al*, *The American Mind* (New York, 1947), p. 575.

the atmosphere was made transparent with this design, to give man, in the heavenly bodies, the perpetual presence of the sublime." Hugh Blair's advice had been that metaphors ought to be wrought from objects of some dignity, from the "gay and splendid objects of sense."[40] An orator could follow such counsel and be true to the Romantic awe of Nature's majesty.

To sum up the argument of this paper, ceremonial oratory of the first half of the nineteenth century was distinguished by a common style marked by the employment of generic language, frequent allusion or epithet in the place of denotative labels, and imagery drawn from certain characteristic areas of experience. This style owed its origin and its universality to a rhetorical tradition adhered to and tempered by men caught up in the sensibility of the Romantic movement in America. If some of the products of this time ring ponderously in our ears, we may appreciate the gulf which has opened between our own literary and oratorical taste and the sentiments of the Romantic era.

[40] *Lectures*, p. 161.

* * *

ON STYLE IN WRITING. "In every literary work there are two elements: there is the thought, or the thing to be said; there is the expression, or the manner of saying the thing. This latter element, especially when it takes any characteristic shape, we are accustomed to denominate style. And in every work of art the style is even of more importance than the thought: it is the artistic part, it is that through which the artist's personality becomes visible. [The artist] . . . calls in the worn coin of thought, melts it down in secret crucibles, and re-issues it, bearing a fresh superscription and a new value. To make a fine modern statue, there is a great melting down of old bronze."

* * * *

"What in a work of art is really valuable is the art. The statue that is only worth the weight of its metal is a very poor statue indeed. Thought, if left to itself, will dissolve and die. Style preserves it as balsams preserve Pharaoh. The enamel of style is the only tning that can defy the work of time."

* * * *

"As a whole, our literature, and especially our periodical literature, is not distinguished at this moment by style in any rich and characteristic way. Much of the writing is commonplace, just as a man's countenance is commonplace which has no marked and prominent feature, which has no individuality of expression, and which does not differ in any material degree from the countenance of his fellows. All the defects of our present literature may be summed up in a word—want of style. And the reason is not far to seek. Books are written too hastily, and to serve a purpose too immediate. In the days of the old masters of style, the writer adorned his thoughts for the mere love of adorning his thoughts; in the present state of things, it is hardly to be expected that he should put himself to any considerable trouble on that score. The market of the old writer was with posterity; the market of the present writer is in the next street. We cannot write so supremely now as did the old men; but this we can say for ourselves, that while they served ten, we serve a thousand; that while they ornamented sandals for nobles, we make boots and shoes for the multitude; and that it is better for every man to have his beer in the pot, than that in the midst of need there should be spread at intervals a royal feast, with kings for guests, and golden vessels on the table. There are no dishes of peacocks' brains now, but there are wholesome wheaten loaves for all." Alexander Smith, "Literary Work" *Good Words*, IV (London, 1863), 740-742.—Courtesy of SHOP TALK

THE *SPIRITUAL EXERCISES:* A METHOD OF SELF-PERSUASION

George T. Tade

1.

THOUGHTFUL clergymen have long recognized the need for members of their congregations to think their way through to definite convictions and beliefs. This end has been sought principally through the persuasive means of the sermon and personal counsel. While these methods have established values, they also have their weaknesses. The clergyman may talk his congregation into a coma without their thinking through for themselves what their relationship should be to their fellow men and to God. Personal counsel, also, frequently consists of advice-giving with little opportunity for the counseled to think for himself, release his feelings, and structure his own course of action or beliefs. In view of the lack of opportunity in the traditional persuasive methods of the church for the worshipper to give careful and deliberate thought to his beliefs, there appears to be a need for a rhetorical approach which would place the worshipper in a receptive state of mind, direct his attention to an organized set of topics, and permit him to think through for *himself* the relationship of these topics to his life. What is needed is essentially a method of self-persuasion. The *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola seem to suggest such an approach.

2.

The *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) were the product of a young Spanish nobleman and soldier. Ignatius had begun a military career in 1511 which led to his taking part in the insignificant siege of Pamplona in 1521.[1] It was here when he was an adult of thirty, a blustering soldier with a vain desire to win renown, that a cannon ball shattered his leg.[2] This incident led to the transformation of his life. The intense physical suffering of Ignatius during his convalescence as well as the reading of books on piety seems to have set up a chain of imagination and meditation which led to a deep spiritual experience at Manresa in 1522. It was here that Ignatius hung up the sword and dagger of Spain and became a soldier for Christ.[3] In the year that followed Loyola lived in Manresa at the Hospital of Santa Lucia and at the Convent of the Friars Preacher.[4] In all probability it was in a monk's cell of the Convent that he wrote[5] the major[6] part of the

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[1] Antonio Astrain, S.J., *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la Asistencia de Espana,* 2d ed. (Madrid, 1912), I, 1-21.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 22.

[3] Père Paul Dudon, S.J., *St. Ignatius of Loyola,* translation by William J. Young, S.J. (Milwaukee, 1949), pp. 39-55.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 204 ff. Astrain, I, 33.

[5] Certain "pious" legends state that Ignatius lived in a cave outside Manresa where he subjected himself to cruel austerities and that it was in this cave that he composed the *Exercises.* There is no documentary evidence to support the opinion that Ignatius resided exclusively in the *cueva* and did his writing there. In fact, statements by the saint himself and by witnesses at Manresa indicate that this idea is contrary to all probability. Dudon, p. 204.

[6] Ignatius began at Manresa in 1522 to write out in his own hand a collection which comprised the rules for election, the rules for scruples, the rules for the discernment of spirits, the three methods of prayer, the method of meditating according to the three powers of the soul, directions for meditation,

Spiritual Exercises which may be considered a record of his own meditation as he sought to think his way through to deep spiritual convictions.

The *Spiritual Exercises* have been the subject of much study[7] during the past four centuries; however, in spite of the considerable attention given them by both lay and religious writers, they seem to have eluded the scrutiny of the rhetoricians. This possibly can be accounted for because the *Exercises* have not had wide circulation beyond the Roman Catholic Church[8] and because at first glance they do not appear to be rhetorical. Rather, they appear to be didactic exercises designed for a specific class of persons, a kind of proficiency examination for the priesthood, or devotions for the edification of an individual's personal religious life. They appear, further, to lack even the requisites of the traditional communicative situation in which persuasion usually takes place; that is, there is in the exercises no audience in the usual sense of that term, and there is no person whose primary function it is to stimulate the hearer and amplify the topics of the *Exercises*.

Precisely, then, what are the *Spiritual Exercises*? This question can perhaps best be answered in Ignatius' own words:

> Under the name of spiritual Exercises is understood every method of examination of conscience, of meditation, of contemplation, of vocal and mental prayer, and of other spiritual operations, as shall hereafter be declared: for as to go for a walk, to take a journey, and to run, are bodily exercises, so in like manner all methods of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate affections, and, after it has rid itself of them, to seek and to find the divine will in the ordering of one's life with a view to the salvation of one's soul, are called spiritual Exercises.[9]

The *Spiritual Exercises*, then, seem to be a series of considerations, meditations, and contemplations built into an organic whole which a person takes in order to come to a decision regarding God's will for his life. The *Exercises* are essentially deliberative and do not in themselves lead to a particular set conclusion. Rather, the *Spiritual Exercises* seek to provide a method whereby an individual may stimulate himself to respond to God's will for his life without being influenced by his own desires or any considerations, conscious or unconscious, which should not influence him.

Although the *Exercises* have other aspects than the rhetorical (that is, they are dialectical[10] and didactic), still Loyola's little book offers much of interest to the rhetorician. The book, or rather the system it represents, has a rhetorical purpose: to influence or produce a change in the individual who "makes" or takes the exercises. This change appears to be brought about in Loyola's system by means of self-persuasion under the guidance of a director

the general and particular examen, confession and Communion, and subjects for meditation. Since the different primitive and autograph manuscripts have not been preserved, it is impossible to set down in greater detail the content of the original book of the *Exercises*. Although there seems ample evidence that the "substance" of the *Exercises* was composed at Manresa, we know that Loyola continued to make additions and revisions until about 1540. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-214.

[7] The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius has been the object of so many explanations, attacks, misrepresentations, and apologies on the part of Catholics and Protestants alike, that today a collection of some of these forms a library of over 6000 volumes. Ferdinand Wheeler, "Library of the Spiritual Exercises," *America*, 2 (March, 1910), pp. 552-554. There is an extensive list of commentators on the *Exercises* in Augustin de Backer, "Part I," *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jesus*, New ed. by Carlos Sommervogel (10 vols., Brussels, 1890-1909); supplement, Ernest M. Riviere (Toulouse, 1911-1930).

[8] Isaac Taylor, *Loyola and Jesuitism in its Rudiments* (New York, 1857), p. 224.

[9] Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, translation and commentary by W. H. Longridge (London, 1919), p. 4.

[10] See Père Gaston Fessard, *La dialectique des Exercices spirituels de Saint Ignace de Loyola* (Paris, 1956).

or retreat master. We normally think that in persuasion one person, a speaker, influences another, an audience. In Loyola's system, however, the person who makes the exercises, usually referred to as the exercitant or retreatant, is both speaker and audience. The exercitant places himself in the desired frame of mind, amplifies and applies to his own life the heads of arguments given to him for meditation by the director, thinks to and for himself, speaks aloud in solitude, and by these processes draws practical conclusions. The self-persuasion which takes place in the exercises is to traditional persuasion as a doctor's self-treatment is to his treatment of others. The *Exercises* are by and large a series of activities which the exercitant follows in order to produce a change in himself.

The *Spiritual Exercises* consist of the Annotations, the exercises, and supplementary materials for meditation and instruction. The twenty Annotations serve as an introduction setting forth the purpose of the exercises and provide many of the instructions on how the exercises are to be taken as well as given. The meditations and contemplations which make up the main portion of Loyola's work are divided into four sections termed Weeks, the successive purposes of which are: (1) to reform the life spoiled by sin, (2) to remold that which has been reformed, (3) to establish that which has been molded, and (4) to continue to shape that which has been established.[11]

A later companion work composed by the early Jesuit fathers, *Directorium in Exercitia,* constitutes the official guide for Jesuits giving the exercises. The *Directorium* is comprehensive, providing detailed, though flexible, instructions on how the exercises may be administered.[12]

3.

Having briefly described the origin and general nature of the *Exercises,* let us now consider the special characteristics of the Ignatian method of meditation. We shall confine this discussion to the physical surroundings which supply facilitating stimuli for making the exercises, the role of the director, the role of the exercitant, and the process of meditation and its rhetorical aspects.

In a retreat given in accord with the instructions of Saint Ignatius and the later fathers, the exercitant withdraws to a place away from friends and acquaintances.[13] The solitude is not broken in any way by persons not directly associated with the making of the retreat. In part to achieve the greatest degree of solitude, the Society of Jesus has always preferred the individual administration of the *Exercises;*[14] however, group administration is permitted and as many as 1100 have made a retreat at a time.[15]

The exercitant, in addition to seeking a place of solitude, is commanded during the first week to deprive himself of all light except when reading, praying, or eating.[16] This requirement may appear trivial in itself; however, it may assist the exercitant beginning the retreat to rule out as many sense experiences as possible in order that he can give his undivided attention to the work of meditation.

If it seems desirable to the director, the exercitant may be furnished with reading materials to accompany the ex-

[11] Longridge summarizes the function of each of the Weeks in four short phrases: (1) *Deformata reformare;* (2) *Reformata conformare;* (3) *Conformata confirmare;* and (4) *Confirmata transformare.* Longridge, p. xxxiii.

[12] *Directorium in Exercitia,* trans. W. H. Longridge (London, 1919), pp. 276-348.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 284.

[14] J. E. Canavan, "The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," *Irish Monthly,* LXXVI (July 1948), 305.

[15] *Our Colloquium* (Dublin, 1932), p. 10.

[16] Longridge, *Exercises,* p. 73.

ercises. Such materials may help him in developing adequately the points of the meditation and in seeing graphically the images he is called upon to bring before his mind. The reading material is always assigned to the exercitant and is selected to accompany the meditation of the day.[17]

The physical aspects of the Ignatian method have been described in vigorous invective. Canavan points out some of the "horrors" that the critics have imagined:

> the exercitant imprisoned in a room apart, passing day and night in darkness, wracked by horror and melancholy, fearing he would never know joy again or a pleasant time. . . .Twice a day one of those Magi visit him who, with set face and muffled voice, gives him brief incantations on small pieces of paper; and the miserable wretch, ruminating over them in solitude, ensnares and bewitches himself more and more.[18]

This description is hardly a fair interpretation of the Ignatian method of meditation; however, the physical surroundings may well have their influence on the exercitant.

The role of the director in the Ignatian method of meditation is clearly defined in the *Exercises* and *Directory*. His first responsibility is to induce men to make the exercises,[19] by gently pointing out the peace, security, and knowledge of how to direct one's life which may result.[20] After an individual has been induced to make the exercises, the director arranges a place for the retreat and gives him the instructions.

The actual instructions for the meditation are given by the director after he has made adaptations to the individual or class of individuals who are making the retreat. Annotation XVIII provides for adaptation on the basis of age, education, health, mental capacity, desires, and general character.[21] After making the adaptations, the director instructs the exercitant in the general principles for making the exercises, i.e., length of the meditations, the time of the meditations, the positions of prayer, and the dispositions the exercitant should seek in beginning the exercises.[22]

When the director is satisfied that the exercitant is ready for the meditation, he presents the content of the exercises orally[23] or in the written form.[24] At the outset the director carefully narrates the history of the meditation by running over the points in a brief exposition. The exercitant then uses this brief statement as a groundwork for his meditation. The director is cautioned in both the *Exercises* and the *Directory* not to develop the points too fully, for the exercitant derives the greatest benefit from what he discovers for himself.[25] The purpose of the retreat seems to be to get the exercitant to think for himself and if possible to think through to a definite conviction.[26] When the director has finished giving the points, the exercitant is left alone to meditate. After approximately twenty-four hours, the father visits his charge again to determine his state of mind and the progress he has made. On the basis of this examination the father may permit the exercitant to begin the next exercise.

The role of the exercitant in the Ignatian method is not that of a passive recipient but rather that of an active participant in the making of the meditations. This participation starts with the exercitant placing himself in a favor-

[17] Longridge, *Directory*, p. 282.
[18] Canavan, p. 313.
[19] Longridge, *Directory*, p. 277.
[20] Longridge, *Exercises*, p. 9.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[22] Longridge, *Directory*, p. 300.
[23] Letter from Father Lawrence J. Flynn, S.J., Milford Novitiate of Xavier University, Cincinnati, January 31, 1957.
[24] Longridge, *Directory*, p. 290.
[25] Longridge, *Exercises*, p. 7.
[26] Fr. Fegan, "Week End Retreats," *Our Colloquium* (Dublin, 1932), p. 80.

able and receptive mental attitude before beginning the exercises. The exercitant's initial disposition must include a desire to know the will of God and a willingness to follow it once it is made known. The retreat should not be entered upon if the exercitant has laid down limits beyond which he will not go in following God's will. Once the proper disposition is acquired, the exercitant is ready to begin the actual meditation. Here Saint Ignatius expects the exercitant to pray,[27] to use his imagination in visualizing the scenes or events being contemplated,[28] to amplify and apply to his own life the *puntos principales* suggested by the director,[29] and then to examine himself to see how the exercise has gone. In every step of meditation according to the Ignatian method the exercitant is an active agent —he acts and thinks in ways designed to influence himself.

The pattern of the exercises and the process of meditation are also of interest to us in considering the *Exercises* as a method of self-persuasion. All of the Ignatian exercises follow essentially the same general plan or format. They open with a preparatory prayer followed by one or more preludes leading up to the main points of the meditation; and they conclude by one or more colloquies in which the exercitant talks to Christ, God, the Virgin, or a saint. It may be useful to give in detail the text of the first exercise of the First Week in order that we may gain a clear concept of the general structure of the exercises as a whole.

THE FIRST EXERCISE

is a meditation with the three powers of the soul upon the first, the second, and the third sin. It contains in itself, after a preparatory prayer and two preludes, three principal points and a colloquy.

The preparatory prayer is to ask God our Lord for grace that all my intentions, actions, and operations may be ordered purely to the service and praise of His divine Majesty.

The first prelude is a composition, seeing the place. Here it is to be observed that in the contemplation or meditation of a visible object, as in contemplating Christ our Lord, Who is visible, the composition will be to see with the eye of the imagination the corporeal place where the object I wish to contemplate is found. I say the corporeal place, such as the Temple or the mountain where Jesus Christ is found, or our Lady, according to that which I desire to contemplate. In a meditation on an invisible thing, such as the present meditation on sins, the composition will be to see with the eyes of the imagination and to consider that my soul is imprisoned in this corruptible body, and my whole compound self in this vale of misery as in exile amongst brute beasts; I say my whole self, composed of soul and body.

The second prelude is to ask of God our Lord that which I wish and desire. The petition ought to be according to the subject-matter, i.e. if the contemplation is on the Resurrection, to ask for joy with Christ in His joy; if it be on the Passion, to beg for sorrow, tears, and fellowship with Christ in His sufferings; here it will be to ask for shame and confusion of face, seeing how many have been lost for a single mortal sin, and how many times I have deserved to be condemned eternally for my so many sins.

Before all contemplations or meditations there should always be made the preparatory prayer without change, and the two above-mentioned preludes, changing them from time to time according to the subject matter.

The first point will be to apply the memory to the first sin, which was that of the angels; and then the understanding to the same by reasoning on it; and then the will desiring to remember and understand the whole, in order that I may be the more ashamed and confounded, bringing into comparison with the one sin of the angels my many sins, and considering that while they have gone to hell for one sin, I have so often deserved the same punishment for my many sins. I say to apply the memory to the sin of the angels, how being created in grace, yet not willing to help themselves by means of their liberty to reverence and obey their Creator and Lord, they fell

[27] Longridge, *Exercises*, p. 53.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

into pride, were changed from grace into malice, and cast down from heaven to hell; and then in turn to reason more in particular with the understanding, and thus to move still more the affections by means of the will.

The second point will be the same, i.e. to apply the three powers to the sin of Adam, and Eve, bringing before the memory how for that sin they did such long penance, and how great corruption came upon the human race, so many men going towards hell. I say, to apply the memory to the second sin, that of our first parents; how, after Adam had been created in the plain of Damascus, and placed in the terrestrial Paradise, and Eve had been formed out of his rib, when they had been forbidden to eat of the tree of Knowledge, yet eating of it and so sinning, they were afterwards clothed in garments made of skins, and driven out of Paradise, and lived without original righteousness, which they had lost, all their life long in toilsome labour and much penance; and then in turn to reason with the understanding more in particular, using also the will, as has been said before.

The third point will be to do in like manner in regard to the third sin, i.e. the particular sin of some one person, who for one mortal sin has gone to hell; and many others without number for fewer sins than I have committed. I say, to do the same in regard to the third particular sin, bringing before the memory the gravity and malice of sin committed by man against his Creator and Lord; then to reason with the understanding how, in sinning and acting against the infinite goodness, such an one has justly been condemned forever; and to conclude with acts of the will as has been said.

Colloquy. Imagining Christ our Lord present before me on the Cross, to make a Colloquy with Him, asking Him how it is that being the Creator, He has come to make Himself man, and from eternal life has come to temporal death, and in this manner to die for my sins. Again, reflecting on myself, to ask what have I done for Christ, what am I doing for Christ, what ought I to do for Christ. Then beholding Him in such a condition, and thus hanging upon the Cross, to make the reflections which may present themselves.

The colloquy is made, properly speaking, as a friend speaks to a friend, or a servant to his master, asking at one time for some grace, at another accusing oneself of some evil committed, at another making known one's affairs, and seeking counsel concerning them. And then to say Our Father.[30]

The first division of the exercises, including the preparatory prayer and preludes, constitutes a kind of preparation for making the meditation. It is in effect a kind of polarization, a gathering together of the individual's thoughts and a focusing of them on the objective of the exercises.[31] The prayer and preludes form an introduction to the meditation and are comparable in purpose to the introduction of a speech. They gain the exercitant's attention by arousing interest, they attempt to place him in a receptive state of mind, and they introduce the subject of the meditation.

The value of acquiring a receptive state of mind and appropriate emotional feelings can hardly be questioned as desirable prerequisites to persuasion, but Loyola's means of acquiring these feelings are for the most part foreign to everyday persuasion. He suggests that the exercitant directly enlist God's help through prayer that he may have appropriate feelings,[32] and then he is to activate his own imagination and stimulate his emotions by trying to see the place involved in the particular meditation.[33] For example, he is urged to visualize Christ in the specific setting of the meditation—in the temple, on the mountain, or elsewhere. In meditating on an invisible thing like sin the exercitant is advised to imagine his being cast into hell by the power of sin.[34] Thus in the prayer and preludes the exercitant seeks God's help that he may be receptive, creates or "makes" his own imagery as directed, and reacts to this self-stimulation.

[30] Longridge, *Exercises*, pp. 52-60.
[31] Mary Augustine Scheele, *Educational Aspects of Spiritual Writings* (Milwaukee, 1940), p. 139.
[32] Longridge, *Exercises*, p. 55.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

The body of each exercise is composed of a series of points on which the exercitant meditates. The points of each meditation are not arranged indiscriminately, but as a rule they bear a logical or chronological relationship to one another. The points may be extended in many different ways by the active mind of the exercitant, but in every case they should lead to a product which is comparable to the body of a speech.

The principal points of the exercises are not to be "thought about" by the exercitant in a haphazard fashion. He is rather to begin the meditation of the main points by applying first his memory, then his understanding, and finally his will to the particular point.[35] The exercitant uses the memory to bring to mind the facts, and then he gives a more detailed remembrance or a quasi-consideration to the point.[36] In using the understanding the exercitant usually performs only one act, i.e., he reasons and makes deductions. His reasoning is always directed toward a practical end and is never speculative. He is concerned with arriving at conclusions that may be applied directly.[37] The will is applied in two ways. First, the exercitant concentrates completely on the subject by desiring to remember all that is pertinent. Secondly, the will is applied to move the affections which should lead the exercitant in the colloquies to make definite resolutions.[38] Thus through careful and systematic consideration of the principal points, the exercitant has an opportunity to think through for *himself* the relationship of a carefully organized set of topics to his own life.

The meditations on the principal points are followed by the exercitant making a colloquy. The colloquy, properly speaking, is a free utterance of one's thoughts as they might be made to Christ. They may be a petition, a resolution, a self-condemnation for past failures, or any similar act.[39] The colloquy is the part of the meditation where the exercitant draws together his ideas and makes whatever decision he wishes to make. The colloquy is to the exercises what a conclusion is to a speech. In a sense, it is the exercitant's oral or mental statement of the results of his systematic thinking and self-stimulation.

In conclusion, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius seem to offer to the clergy of today a method of self-persuasion. The *Exercises* provide a rhetorical approach which places the exercitant in a receptive state of mind, directs his attention to an organized set of topics, permits him to think through for himself the relationship of these topics to his own life, and provides for the statement of conclusions.

[35] Longridge, *Exercises*, p. 56.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 209.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Longridge, *Exercises*, p. 58.

THE PLACE OF RHETORIC IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD

Gerald M. Phillips

THE Talmud has been the core of religious education and theory for Jews from its beginning before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem down to the present day.[1] According to Heinrich Graetz:

> Judaism, ever since its foundation has based itself on the experiences of actual life, so that the Talmud was obliged to concern itself with concrete phenomena, with the things of this world. . . . The Babylonian Amora[2] created that dialectic, close reasoning Jewish spirit, which in the darkest days preserved the dispersed nation from stagnation and stupidity. . . . In a word, the Talmud was the education of the Jewish nation.[3]

Because of the influence of the Talmudic rabbis on their people, the Talmud achieved the status of a legal code for Jews, providing doctrine and precedent in civil and criminal law, and rules for family relationships and religious observances. In addition, it contained data on astronomy, history, literature, geography, and virtually all other subjects of study as they related to religious law.[4]

The Talmud, in the English translation, consists of 35 volumes, each containing over 600 pages. The pages record, frequently with the accuracy of minutes, the orations, discussions, and disputations carried on by the Talmudic rabbis and their pupils at the scholarly academies in Babylon and Palestine. It covers a period of more than 900 years and includes the statements of at least 500 authorities.[5]

Education at these academies was oral. There were two significant reasons for this. First, the authorities of the day felt that there were many advantages accruing from an oral method of study, which included the chanting of a text and discussion and disputation of its meaning.[6] Second, there was a strict religious ban placed on the use in the academies of any written material other than the Bible.[7]

The first emergence of an art of oral discourse in the Jewish culture was with the Scribes.[8] R. Travers Herford says:

> The only possible way of reaching the people, whether as a whole, or in groups or individually, was by oral address. There was no question of writing books and circulating them. The people to be taught were just those who would be least able to read and least

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1 Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1891), II, 632.

2 *Amora.* Lit. 'interpreter.' Refers to the rabbi whose function it was to explain the meaning of the Oral Law.

3 Graetz, p. 635.

4 Louis Finklestein, *The Pharisees* (Philadelphia, 1938), II, 331.

5 Solomon Schechter, "The Talmud," *Studies in Judaism,* 3rd Ser. (Philadelphia, 1924), pp. 145-151.

6 Ta'anith 7a, 25. All footnote references to Talmud tractates refer to the Soncino English translation of the Talmud (London, 1936-1952) edited by Dr. I. Epstein. The first reference is to the folio number in the Hebrew-Aramaic editions, all of which carry a standard pagination, while the second reference is to the page number in the English translation.

7 Shabbath 116a; 569.

8 Scribes. The group of Pharisees which flourished before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., who preached, taught, and were largely responsible for the codification of the Oral Law.

likely to read if there had been any books. . . . When the work of the teachers in later times is studied in the Talmud, . . . it is found to be exclusively oral, by way of debate in the schools or discourse in the synagogue. . . . We may be quite sure that the Soferim [Scribes] had no other means of instruction than the spoken word.[9]

The purpose of oral discourse or disputation in the Talmudic Academies was always related in some way to Torah[10] in general, and Oral Law or *Mishnah*[11] in particular. One authority stated, "God made a covenant with Israel only for the sake of that which was transmitted orally."[12]

The Talmud makes no explicit mention of an art of public speaking. Basing their pedagogy on the Deuteronomic dictum to teach the law "diligently unto the children,"[13] the Scribes adopted the practice of interpreting the Pentateuch at voluntary public assemblies. Their interpretations took the form of lectures explaining the meaning of Scriptural verses. The same method was later utilized by the rabbis in the synagogues. These interpretations of the Scribes later changed to interpretations of the Oral Law, and finally to the process of deriving new laws from the Oral Law, using a process of discussion and disputation.[14]

The rabbis of the Talmudic period were not in unanimous agreement on the actual importance of oral discourse. It should be noted here that comments in the Talmud which pertain to speech or rhetoric were not made during the course of a systematic investigation of the field, but were interpolations into religious discussions. In no case recorded in the Talmud, did a rabbi ever concern himself with rhetoric *per se*. One authority remarked that the use of the word 'persuasion' in the Bible meant that one man was influenced by another through the use of good food and drink.[15] Another authority commented that it was wise to remain silent except when rendering judgments,[16] while a third advised his students to ". . . speak little, but do much."[17]

The majority of the rabbinic authorities, however, held that public speaking and disputation were exceedingly important. A typical authority interpreted the Bible passages dealing with oratory as meaning that the speaker ". . . won the people with words."[18]

The scarcity of written materials which resulted from the religious ban enhanced the importance of oral communication. Most of the rabbinic authorities agreed that those things which existed in writing, *viz.* the Bible, should not be spoken about, while those things that were originally oral, including everything other than Bible, should not be written about.[19] This meant that the Bible was the only book permitted in the academies, and that the vast body of Oral Law not only had to be committed to memory but all discussion and interpretation of it had to be oral.[20] Ac-

[9] R. Travers Herford, *Talmud and Apocrypha* (London, 1933), pp. 56-7.

[10] Torah. Refers both to the first five books of the Bible, commonly called Pentateuch, and also generically to the entire body of Jewish law, oral and written.

[11] Oral Law. Hebrew *Mishnah*. Refers to the body of Oral Law alleged to have been given to Moses at the time of the revelation, transmitted orally from generation to generation down to the Scribes and their later followers who arranged and codified it. It serves as a basis for the lectures and disputations in the Talmud.

[12] Gittin 60b, 284. This implies that any faith can read and accept the Bible, but that the distinctive feature of Judaism is its acceptance of the Oral Law on an equal basis with the Bible.

[13] Deut. 6:4-9.

[14] Kiddushin 30a, 144.

[15] Hullin 4b, 15.

[16] Hullin 89a, 498.

[17] Aboth I, 15 .

[18] Sotah 35a, 171.

[19] Temurah 14a, 97.

[20] Hermann L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Philadelphia, 1931.), p. 13.

cording to George Foot Moore, a cardinal precept of Judaism was expressed here. This was the precept that all religion was revealed; that the whole revelation was given to Moses, and thus man was in possession of all of God's law. Therefore, since the Bible was only a small, though originating, portion of that law, the bulk of God's law was oral, and the means for discovering new applications of God's law also had to be oral.[21] It was necessary, then, for the Talmudic rabbis to employ rhetoric in its Aristotelian sense, i.e., ". . . the art of finding in any given case all the available means of persuasion," despite the fact that they never formulated a theory of rhetoric and probably did not even know that such an art existed in other cultures.

This broad principle of oral interpretation gave the rabbis leeway to apply themselves to all phases of human life. There was no problem that was considered too minute or obscure for rabbinic oratory and disputation. So important did this liberty of interpretation become that the rabbis, in a fanciful, expository passage, placed in the mouth of Moses the words which sanctioned their practice.[22]

Discussions and disputations at the academies were made, through the sanction of Moses, to serve a Divine end. In addition, to provide added support, many of the great figures in the Bible were described as having taught and lectured to their disciples in the same fashion that was in vogue at the academies.[23] Historically, the rabbis claimed that their method of teaching through lecture and disputation came to them from Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joshua, etc., in a direct line to their day. Thus both Divine and historical precedent was given to the practice of rhetoric at the academies.[24]

The rabbis described God, Himself, as engaging in lecture and disputation. According to them, God took no action without having it debated in His "Heavenly Court."[25] God is described as frequently intervening in the discussions in the academies, thus showing His continued interest in the disputations over His Law.[26] In a passage itself indicative of a powerful rhetoric, the rabbis firmly established the principle of free and open debate and of their own practice of rhetoric:

> It has been taught: On that day, R. Eliezer brought forward every imaginable argument, but they did not accept them. [Rabbi Eliezer was debating with his colleagues and could not get a vote in his favor.] Said he to them: "If the *halachah* agrees with me, let this . . . tree prove it." [*Halachah*. lit. "way to go" refers to the particular law in a given situation.] Thereupon the . . . tree was torn a hundred cubits out of its place. . . . "No proof can be brought from a . . . tree," they retorted. [Miracles are not acceptable as proof in a debate.] Again he said to them: "If the *halachah* agrees with me, let this stream of water prove it." Whereupon the stream of water flowed backwards. "No proof can be brought from a stream of water," they rejoined. Again he urged: "If the *halachah* agrees with me, let the wall of the schoolhouse prove it," whereupon the wall inclined to fall. But R. Joshua rebuked the schoolhouse walls saying: "When scholars are engaged in . . . dispute, what have ye to interfere?" . . . Again he said to them: "If the *halachah* agrees with me, let it be proved from Heaven." Whereupon a Heavenly voice cried out: "Why do ye dispute with R. Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the *halachah* agrees with him?" But R. Joshua arose and exclaimed: *"It is not in Heaven."*[27] What did he mean by this? Said R. Jeremiah: "That the Torah had already been given at Mount Sinai; we pay no attention to a Heavenly

[21] George Foot Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge, 1944), I, 112.
[22] Jacob Zallel Lauterbach, "Oral Law," *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1909), IX, 423.
[23] Temurah 15b, 107.
[24] Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, VIII, 50.
[25] Sanhedrin 38b, 245.
[26] Hullin 43b, 234.
[27] Deut. 30:12.

voice, because Thou hast long since written in the Torah at Mount Sinai, *After the majority must one incline.*" [28]

The Holy One . . . laughed with joy . . . saying, "My sons have defeated me."[29]

This remarkable passage makes it clear that in the minds of the rabbis, God approved of their practice of rhetoric in its fullest sense. Through it, the rabbis gave themselves the right to speak about and to dispute any detail of human life, without outside or miraculous interference, and subject only to the restriction of majority rule used as a means of resolution of conflict. The symbol of God's laughter at the end of the passage underlines their concept that man is in possession of all of God's law, and it is man's function to ascertain, through rhetorical invention, the specific application of God's law to any human situation and to expound the interpretations to any who will listen.

An implicit theory of rhetoric can be drawn from the Talmud. The discovery of God's law applied to specific situations would correspond to invention. Communication of God's law through lecture and disputation would involve arrangement, style, and delivery, and the existence of Oral Law and non-existence of written materials would imply the existence of an art of memory.

Thus, it is apparent, that even though there is no specific mention of rhetoric in the Talmud, and though it is likely that the rabbis were not even aware of the existence of an art of rhetoric in any other culture, the whole Jewish culture of the Talmudic period rested upon the art of rhetoric in use, and rhetoric represented the core of the whole religious, judicial and educational system of the people. This was, indeed, "a rhetorical culture."

[28] Exod. 23:2.
[29] Baba Mezi'a 59b, 352-6.

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PUBLIC RECITATION IN JAPAN

Thomas O. Sloan

FAUBION BOWERS, in tracing the influence of public recitation on Japanese drama, states that in modern Japan the popularity of "musical story-telling" is "amazing":

> Each day on any of the numerous radio stations, an hour at least is devoted to these dramatic half-sung, half-recited narratives with samisen accompaniment. . . . Ubiquitous variety halls . . . and temporary theatre-stalls which spring up overnight in the poorer districts of the cities, feature at least one or two such recitations in their sporadic nighttime performances of mixed entertainment.[1]

Recently, I visited Japan as a member of the armed forces. Like Bowers, I, too, was amazed at the wide-spread popularity of the recitative art. Modern forms of entertainment in Japan, even television, rarely fail to include one or more public reciters. The traditional dramas of Japan (*Noh, Kabuki,* and the puppet plays) rely heavily on recitation. Is Japanese recitation, I wondered, a borrowed innovation skillfully revised according to the Oriental practice—"adopt, adapt, adept"? Or, is it an older art form, with origins in archaic Japan, before the Chinese influence? The modern Japanese scene, an anachronistic potpourri in which the new and the old are kaleidoscopically encountered, made difficult an immediate answer to those questions. My first clue to the history of this art was the peculiar costume of the reciters in traditional drama. In *Kabuki, Noh,* and the puppet plays, the reciters wear brightly-colored robes with huge, wing-like sleeves. This garb, I learned later, is the *kamishimo,* the formal masculine dress of the Tokugawa period (1600-1868). My second clue was a basic similarity of technique employed by many of the reciters I observed. Whether performing alone or in a chorus, the public reciters kneel before a low table on which an elaborate manuscript is placed. Sometimes musically, sometimes dramatically, the performers read with an intense emotionality which captivates their auditors. There seemed to me to be a convention on which styles of recitation are based; and, in the Orient, convention generally means origins in antiquity.

Upon returning to this country, I discovered that no scholarly work dealing specifically with Japanese public recitation has been written in English. However, books on the development of Japanese literature present evidence indicating that public recitation in Japan was in existence thirteen centuries ago. Moreover, recitation has not only paralleled the development of Japanese non-dramatic literature, but, according to some authorities, has also been instrumental in the growth of traditional Japanese drama. Changes in the literary art were popularized by the public reciters, and subsequently served as an impetus in the modifications of the dramatic art.

From early times to A.D. 710, there were professional public reciters whose primary purpose was the perpetuation of historical legends. The Japanese of

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[1] Faubion Bowers, *Japanese Theatre* (New York, 1952), p. 28.

this period had no written language; recitation was the only means of publication. Collectively the reciters whose function was to publish and preserve historical legends were known as *Katari-Be,* or "Chanters' Guild," a corporated association whose members carried on this pursuit from generation to generation under a leader officially appointed.[2] Captain Brinkley states that the basis in fact of the *Katari-Be's* repertoire was highly questionable and that their stories belonged "to the realm of romance rather than history."[3] It also appears that, like the Provençal Troubadours of the Western World, the *Katari-Be* included in their recitations colorfully fabricated legends about the deeds of those great families whose patronage they were seeking. Whether regarded as serious historians or as amusing entertainers, these reciters were popular with the nobility.

In the eighth century, the social transformation of Japan and the development of written literature and written history strongly affected the art of public recitation. Archaic Japanese society was highly stratified. Wealthy families assumed sovereignty over their own geographic districts. It was not until the fourth century A.D. that the Yamato Court, the ancestors of the subsequent Imperial House of Japan, succeeded in subjugating the lesser powers. In the divided early society, there was an absence of any sense of popular unity or racial culture, and this disunity did not foster the development of narratives epic in quality.[4] The first folk-literature found expression in lyric poetry; the themes of these poems were love, war, and wine.[5] In the seventh century, Chinese influences grew in strength and importance and gradually, upon the centralization of the Japanese government, transformed the culture of Japan. The Chinese, coming from an older and more advanced civilization, brought with them arts and crafts which spurred Japanese artistic and industrial growth. Eventually, communication between the two countries became intense. A strongly-centralized Japanese government, basing its political thought on China's Sui and T'ang dynasty, revoked the hereditary privileges of the provincial chieftains and moved toward socio-political unification of the entire nation. Two Chinese influences given sanction by the powerful new government especially affected public recitation: the adoption of Chinese ideographs for literary purposes, and the spread of Buddhism.

With the introduction of a uniform written language, the emperors became interested in a written record of their country's early history. The public reciter's function as historian was accordingly diminished in importance. However, written language also spurred the growth of prose literature, which provided new material for public recitation. In the tenth century, with the spread of a uniform written language and the pervasive effects of the Chinese influence, Japanese prose "evolved to its highest development."[6]

These prose works became available to the Japanese public reciters, who for centuries had been practising their art accompanied by the *biwa* (a type of lute imported from China) or rhythmical taps of a folded fan. In the thirteenth century, blind, itinerant Buddhist priests travelled throughout Japan, reciting

[2] F. A. Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People* (London, 1915), p. 2.
[3] Brinkley, p. 1.
[4] F. A. Lombard, *An Outline History of Japanese Drama* (London, 1928), pp. 182-183.
[5] R. Nichols, ed., *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu,* trans. A. Miyamori (London, 1926), p. 3.
[6] Donald Keene, ed., *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York, 1955), p. 23.

long romances, accompanying themselves on the *biwa*.[7] Part of the reason for the popularity of these "priests of the lute" (*biwa-bozu*) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was their exclusive use of a new type of narrative. The eleventh century narratives were "elegant and ornate, but effeminate and prolix" in style.[8] All literature declined with the degeneration of the Imperial Court in the twelfth century. In the latter part of that turbulent century, the powerful military leaders called *Shoguns* warred against the apathetic nobility and ushered in a feudal age which lasted for seven hundred years. In contrast to the rather emasculated nobility, the vigorous *Shoguns* brought a new vitality to Japanese life. Fiercely loyal and intensely religious, the *Shogunate* gave rise to a new type of narrative which was strongly epic in quality. Combining aspects of tragedy and religion, the new epic narratives became the repertoire of the *biwa-bozu* whose "great dramatic skill made the stirring tales live again for a people who still for the most part could not read."[9] As Ienaga puts it, when these narratives were presented in the *biwa-bozu's* musical-recitative style, they "appealed in those days as much to the eye as to the ear."[10]

The popularity of the *biwa-bozu* and their epic narratives during these centuries provided added incentive for the creation of *Noh* drama. In fact, Brinkley gives these "priests of the lute" almost complete credit for the creation of *Noh;* he states that the idea of modifying early song-dance forms and combining them into *Noh* in the fifteenth century "had its origin in the musical recitations from the semi-romantic semi-historical narratives of the 14th century."[11] From this point on, public recitation had a decided influence on the development of Japanese drama, especially after the appearance of the "modern" public reciter in the sixteenth century.

In the sixteenth century, the *samisen* (a sort of three-stringed guitar) was imported from China, via the Loochoos. Its effect on the art of recitation was immediate. Bowers states:

> In addition to rhythmic punctuation and tuneful melody, the samisen allowed simple two- and three-tone harmony and all manner of sound effects. The emptiness of fan taps on the one hand and the faint, feminine lilt of the priests' lutes on the other, were overcome by the resonant timbre of the samisen and disappeared from the art of story-telling.[12]

Early in the sixteenth century a metrical romance in twelve parts entitled *The Story of Lady Joruri* became a great favorite among the public reciters. Henceforward, recitation of this story and others like it came to be known as *joruri* and the reciters themselves were called *joruri-katari*.[13]

Toward the close of the sixteenth century, an enterprising puppeteer invented the art of manipulating puppets to the accompaniment of *joruri* recitation and *samisen* music. In the seventeenth century, a *joruri* reciter by the name of Takemoto Gidayu established the first puppet theatre in Japan, in Osaka. After the establishment of his theatre, Gidayu began to recite pieces which had been written at his request by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, destined to become the Shakespeare of Japan. Gidayu's style of recitation and Monzaemon's plays

[7] Earle Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre* (London, 1956), p. 115.
[8] Saburo Ienaga, *History of Japan* (Tokyo, 1953), p. 72.
[9] Lombard, p. 34.
[10] Ienaga, p. 72.
[11] F. A. Brinkley, "Japanese Literature," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XV, 168.
[12] Bowers, p. 30.
[13] Nichols, p. 26.

brought fame to the puppet theatre. Eventually, Gidayu established a school of recitation, in which he trained chanters for his puppet theatre.[14] According to Nichols, Gidayu had "a powerful voice of excellent musical tone," and before long his style of recitation was adopted by all the puppet-theatre reciters.[15] (In fact, the puppet-theatre reciters of today are often referred to as *gidayu*.) The tremendous popularity of the puppet plays over-shadowed the growth of the *Kabuki* drama. Although *Kabuki* retained some of the dance forms and music of the *Noh*, its break with dramatic convention was its use of actors speaking lines. However, this innovation was confronted with two obstacles: government restrictions bore down heavily on the live actors, and creative genius had become concentrated in the puppet plays. In order to compete, *Kabuki* in the middle of the eighteenth century borrowed liberally from the puppet plays. "The actors took plots, imitated the puppet movements, and adapted wholesale styles of declamation and joruri."[16] The combination in *Kabuki* of the early dance and drama forms, the imitated puppet movements, and the style of recitation borrowed from the *gidayu* were so successful that today, as one of the foremost types of theatre in Japan, *Kabuki* far outranks the puppet-plays in popularity.

However, during the evolution of *Kabuki* and the puppet-plays, public recitation maintained its popularity as a separate medium of entertainment. In the seventeenth century, two schools of public reciters were prominent in Edo (now Tokyo). One group of performers, called *kodan-shi*, recited romances of historical or pseudo-historical nature. The rival group, called *rakugo-shi*, recited material based on contemporary events, love stories and anecdotes. The first hall constructed for the purposes of public recitation was built in Edo in 1795. According to Ernst,

> In 1815 there were seventy-five of these *yose* in Edo; ten years later there were one hundred and twenty-five. The government, not approving this manifestation of public frivolity, reduced the number of *yose* to seventy-six and finally closed them altogether. But the *yose* had become a necessary part of the citizen's amusement and continued to thrive both in private homes and on street corners. The crowds gathering in the streets to listen to the storytellers became so large that the passage of traffic was made impossible. Finally realizing that this entertainment could not be eradicated, the government in 1851 repealed the laws restricting the number of *yose*.[17]

In summary, public recitation in Japan is a very old art. The first public reciters, known as *Katari-Be*, were the primary repository of history until the introduction of written language. During the first transformation of Japanese culture at the hands of Chinese, public recitation was carried on by Buddhist priests. The *biwa-bozu* recited epic narratives, and these recitations were instrumental in the creation of *Noh* drama. With the introduction of the *samisen*, the *joruri* reciters became popular; these reciters were an integral part of the puppet-plays and decidedly influenced the development of *Kabuki* drama. During the development of *Kabuki* and the puppet-plays, public recitation as a separate art was carried on by the *kodan-shi* and the *rakugo-shi*.

Following the treaty of amity and commerce which was concluded between Japan and the U. S. in 1858, Japanese culture felt the impact of Western social ideas. During the reign of Emperor Meiji (1867-1912), Japan ended her feudalistic society and emerged from

[14] A. C. Scott, *Kabuki Theatre of Japan* (London, 1955), p. 54.
[15] Nichols, pp. 28-29.
[16] Bowers, p. 34.
[17] Ernst, p. 115.

her long period of seclusion. At the time of this transformation, the Japanese public reciters were associated with traditional drama and with conventional literature, and Westernization threatened renovation of both the dramatic and the literary art. However, in the Japanese culture since the nineteenth century, the new has been accepted without a complete loss of the old.

With the advent of silent movies in Japan, the public reciter became a *benshi,* a man who stood at the side of the screen, supplying the lines of the actors and providing commentary on the film. Ernst states, "So popular did certain of the *benshi* become that audiences often went to hear a particular *benshi* rather than to see a film."[18]

In modern Japan, the *kodan-shi* and the *rakugo-shi* are now featured on radio and television, as well as in variety shows; their performances are called *naniwabushi.* Also, public reciters may still be seen performing their ancient roles in *Kabuki* and *Noh.*

In Osaka's puppet-theatre, modern audiences may observe the public reciter in his role as *gidayu.* Before the curtain rises, the reciter appears on a small, revolving, elevated platform in the area where the stage left loges are located in our modern American theatres. The *samisen* player sits to the narrator's right, and in front of the narrator is an elaborate manuscript. As the *gidayu* begins reciting, the curtain opens, and the puppet-play begins. A. C. Scott gives the following description of this reciter's performance:

> To see a *gidayu* narrator, or *tayu,* performing is a revelation in itself. While he is in action he is one with the characters on stage, who are expressing their feelings and emotions through him. The *tayu* smiles, weeps, starts with fear or sits back in astonishment. Every movement of his face is expressive of the progress of the play, his voice rises and falls to a set pattern of rhythm, which is yet capable of many shades of expression. Watching a master *tayu* perform, it is possible to conjure up in the mind's eye a vivid picture of everything that is happening, without seeing the stage.[19]

The public reciters I have observed in Japan enraptured their audiences—whether the reciter was the *gidayu* in Osaka's puppet-theatre, or a young man who recounted the glorious deeds of Dick Tracy, complete with enlarged comic-strip pictures, before wide-eyed children, or a performer kneeling before a low desk while his assistant strummed the *samisen* as he read one of the great epic narratives of the fourteenth century.

[18] Ernst, p. 116.

[19] Scott, p. 75.

GRAMMAR TODAY: "STRUCTURE" IN A VOCAL WORLD

Walter J. Ong, S.J.

1.

IF we believe the reporters on our educational system, there is no doubt that we live in a time when grammar has fallen on evil days. At least, in a spate of recent books headed by Arthur Eugene Bestor's *Educational Wastelands* and Rudolph Franz Flesch's *Why Johnny Can't Read*, we are assured that thus it is in the United States. Certainly, in terms of earlier emphases, the neglect of grammar in our present educational tradition represents a major cultural attitude. Furthermore, the neglect cannot be accounted for as simply the unfortunate by-product of blowsy educational theory, for educational theory, blowsy or not, has a history with extremely complicated and profound roots, some of the most profound and perplexing in human existence. The conspiracy theory, which traces all our ills back to a clique of subversives, will work even less well in intellectual history than in social and economic and political history. Grammar, as a matter of fact, has not been put aside by hostile forces. It has suffered a falling off among its own followers. Of recent years persons who in another age might have become grammarians have manifested very little inclination to do so. Grammar itself has lost its appeal and its nerve.

This failure of appeal and nerve had its beginnings much earlier than our generation. Already in the latter half of the nineteenth century Robert Browning had published his poem, "A Grammarian's Funeral," a typical Browning *tour de force*, for a grammarian was already by common consent the most impossible of all subjects for poetry. He was a dull subject at best, and the fact that in this poem he was dead did not make him any more interesting. Grammarians were almost always moribund. Browning's grammarian, who

> . . . settled Hoti's business—let it be!—
> Properly based *Oun*—
> Gave us the doctrine of the enclitic *De*,

was at the peak of his career

> Dead from the waist down.
> . . . The multitude below
> Live, for they can, there:
> This man decided not to Live but Know.

Moreover, it would be a mistake to think that the conditions reflected in Browning's poem apply only to the late nineteenth century. Its subtitle, "Shortly after the Revival of Learning in Europe," shows that the poem actually refers to conditions in the Renaissance, and these conditions were by definition a reproduction of still earlier conditions in classical antiquity, so that, if we can conclude from Browning and the humanists, the failure of nerve on the part

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of grammar traces to troubles which were present to grammar more or less from the beginning.

2.

To understand in some measure what the loss of nerve on the part of grammar comes to, we can establish as historical points of reference two grammarians. The more distinguished, whom we shall come to only at the end of this paper, is the late Otto Jespersen, dean of recent English grammarians and creator of modern English grammar. The other, from whom we shall take our departure, while not so distinguished as Jespersen, is a typical representative of the general grammatical tradition as it existed before the past few generations. He is James Harris, a family connection of the Earls of Shaftesbury and a less distinguished spokesman for the Enlightenment, who at the very middle of the eighteenth century was writing on what he and his contemporaries called universal grammar.

Operating in the wake of scholasticism, Harris treats grammar as do most Western Europeans before Romanticism had achieved its full force. He is fascinated by the possibility of having "principles" with which everything in a particular area of knowledge can be connected—fascinated, that is with the notion of structure, a notion, we might remark, closely associated with thinking in terms of spatial models. Harris' universal grammar was to be a structure containing the principles of all existent and possible grammars, and in the course of getting up what he conceived that this structure might be, we find him writing in 1751 as follows:

> Even in Matters of Art and *human* Creation, if we except a few Artists and critical Observers, the rest look no higher than to the *Practice* and mere *Work*, knowing nothing of those *Principles*, on which the whole depends. Thus in *Speech* for example—All men, even the lowest, can speak their Mother-Tongue. Yet how many of this multitude can neither write, nor even read? How many of those, who are thus far literate, know nothing of that Grammar which respects the Genius of their own Language? How few then must be those who know GRAMMAR UNIVERSAL; *that Grammar*, which without regarding the several idioms of particular languages, *only respects those Principles that are essential to them all*?[1]

Harris is informative for us not because he is profound—for he is not profound at all—but because he is a spokesman for a learned tradition. Dr. Johnson, who Boswell says considered Harris "a prig, and a bad prig," nevertheless respected him as a representative of such a tradition; and after both his and Johnson's death, the book from which our excerpt here is made, *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Universal Grammar,* was translated into French and published in 1796 by order of the French Directory as a kind of official expression of what the enlightened mind was supposed to think about language and grammar.

The passage follows Harris' explanation of how, in any and all philosophizing or scientizing, man must move up from "effects," which he encounters most immediately, to "causes," which he finds are the last things he comes upon, although they must necessarily in themselves precede their effects. In this present passage, Harris is indicating precisely this movement from "effects" up to "causes" or "principles." He is saying here, in effect, that oral speech is the effect of reading, reading the effect of writing, and writing the effect of grammar. Or in reverse, the principles of grammar "cause" writing, writing "causes" reading, and reading "causes" oral speech. This altogether shipshape account blinks entirely the simple fact

[1] James Harris, *Hermes, or A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Universal Grammar,* 2nd ed. rev. (London, 1765), pp. 10-11. The first edition was dated 1751.

that so far are reading and writing from "causing" speech that most men who have lived in the world have done all their speaking and the evolution of language has pursued nearly its entire course without reading or writing at all. Harris would certainly have owned this had he thought of it here. The interesting fact is that he did not even think of it. It seemed to him natural that grammar should be derivative more immediately from written than from spoken language.

Harris' presuppositions and outlook can be paralleled in a thousand places in the world around him, and not only in the eighteenth-century world but all the way back through antiquity as far as we can go. The mentality to which they bear witness is memoralized in the very term "grammar" itself, which comes from the same stem as the Greek word *graphein*, to write, and thus insinuates always, despite the most industrious semantic policing, that to study grammar is to study written rather than spoken language. This mentality is part of a much more widespread supposition, seldom articulated but generally operative, which only recently has become unpopular: namely, that any scientizing of speech involves first silencing it and thus removing it from the world of sound and fixing it in the world of space.

Studying written speech is, of course, far simpler than studying spoken speech, and it is not strange that the early attempts to scientize speech, almost without exception until just a few years ago, veer toward the consideration of written or literary language exclusively, disregarding or slurring over the fact that this is language at second remove. Thus, for example, although Diogenes Laertius and Priscian make some distinction between the *figura* or shape of a letter and its *potestas* or pronunciation value, this distinction is exceptional, is not really held to even by those who make it,[2] and means very little indeed in the learned tradition as a whole. Indeed, Priscian's very proffering of this distinction shows that his approach to sound is through letters themselves: sound is taken not as existing in its own right but as a derivative of letters. It exists at second remove.

This degradation of sound is a regular by-product of an unreflective graphic culture, and has many parallels in such a culture. Thus from Cicero to Ramus and beyond into our own day, it has been common to think of "parts" of words as letters—marks laid out in space—rather than as what we today call phones or phonemes. The terms and the concepts of "phone" and "phoneme" are very recent formations, new in linguistic equipment. "Letter" or *littera* is a very old piece of equipment, and a concept much easier to form. Similarly, "linguistics," formed by reference to the Latin *lingua*, tongue, with the explicit suggestion of sound, attests a new way of scientific thinking. "Grammar," built on the notion of writing, attests the old. To be sure, there was from ancient times a linguistic study called *rhētoricē* or *rhetorica* (root in *erō* or *ereō*, I speak), but wherever this achieved a status of its own independent of grammar, it had to do with a study comparable not to grammar in any sense or to modern linguistics, of which grammar is a part, but to public speaking and/or the modern study of literature.

3.

Given the nature of oral speech and of writing, it is possible to discern convincing reasons why early grammar

[2] R. H. Robins, *Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe* (London, 1951), pp. 13-14.

should have veered consistently toward the written rather than the spoken word. Nothing is more evanescent than sound, which has its being only while it is in process of perishing. *Verba volant, scripta manent.* If sound is metamorphosed or reduced to spatial equivalents by writing, the resulting product has, if not eternal duration, at least a repose which suggests imperishableness. Science favors fixity or repose. It has a nostalgia for the unchanging. Hence scientific-type knowledge involves concepts formed by reference to space rather than to time: it is interested in "structure" or "patterns" or "principles" ("first takings"—*primus-capio*) to which other items are "reduced" (brought back) or "referred" or "related" (carried back).

When sound itself is explained scientifically, it is processed in terms of this sort, after having been metamorphosed into spatial equivalents such as wave lengths, intensity indications, and the like. Science must consider fluidity by freezing it, in one way or another. It is thus understandable that the first scientific attack on language should have been made where language was already rigidified, that is on written speech. By the same token, we are not surprised that early grammar tends to be rather exclusively normative, interested not merely in observing and reporting but specifically in prescribing what people ought to do when they use language. They ought to use it according to the norm of those who *write* it, and to avoid the usage of those who merely talk it, for, in contrast to modern descriptive grammar, more humble in its approach to linguistic fact, early grammar shows practically no interest in living colloquial speech.[3]

In view of the close connection between the scientific and the scriptural outlook, it is not at all surprising that, so far as we know, the first scientific treatment of language, far from antedating the invention of writing, does not come until a long time after writing is established. There is also a curious feedback here, for if it is processing in spatial terms which makes language at first amenable or inviting to scientific analysis, scientific analysis itself, whether it is concerned with language or anything else, can hardly come into being before a graphic culture, for writing gives the needed fixity to the constructs required by scientific analysis. It is impossible to keep a definition entirely unaltered in a completely oral culture. It is impossible even in a manuscript or a typographical culture, but here at least something more like permanence can be maintained.

However, if at first it is written language which inspires linguistic and grammatical science, this science can ultimately be brought to bear on the spoken language itself in the way in which modern descriptive grammar and other branches of linguistic seek to do. But study of the spoken language is much more difficult than study of the written record. It involves taking not what is already fixed in space and working it up into other structural patterns, but taking what is fleeting in time and working it up into structural patterns. As has been seen, to do this inevitably involves fixing sound in some way or other—for example, with the oscillograph, which can reduce the flow of sound to patterns of waves in space which can be "frozen" into charts. This is, in many ways, a more serviceable metamorphosis than the metamorphosis effected by the alphabet or by character writing, for it obviates the innumerable misleading impressions regarding the

[3] Robins, pp. 4, 38, etc.

nature of speech which writing of any sort, and particularly alphabetic writing, creates and perpetuates. With more ingeniously contrived and flexible spatial models, such as those which wave analysis or phonemic analysis provides, linguistic treatment of spoken languages can become more and more precise, more subtle, and more adequate.

Nevertheless, however refined, any reduction of sound to the fixity of space is still a degradation of sound. It seems that the need of science to make such reductions to fixed patterns means that it will never be able quite to catch up with the oral and aural linguistic reality. For there is a kind of incompatibility not only between sound and space, but more profoundly, between the process of communication itself and reduction to a static form. Communication is something which goes on, not something which simply perdures. Because of this it has a natural affinity for the fluid world of sound, where, if the flow does not continue, everything perishes. In such a world, communication, which takes place always between persons or depths, not objects or surfaces, has its normal material mode of existence. The space world may supply more fact of the object-sort, more surface to observe, but it is poor in personalist resonance.

Space is simply not so communicative as sound. The closest spatial equivalent of voice is not posture, but gesture, and by comparison with voice even gesture is half dead: it can be stopped, as voice cannot, and leave a kind of permanent remainder in the medium in which it exists. Gesture can be resolved into a succession of spastic poses which do not go on but merely perdure. In so far as grammatical analysis, even of living, spoken language must reduce language in terms such as "structure," it must reduce language in some sort, directly or indirectly, to such spastic poses. There must be "conjunctions" like couplings on railroad cars, "prepositions" or words "put before" other words, "interjections" or words "thrown between" other words, "adjectives" or words "thrown against" nouns, and so on. Even the verb, which is the word par excellence, the predicate or category—or, to take the root meaning of these two words, Latin-based and Greek-based respectively, "that-which-is-cried-out"—even this verb must be analyzed as "complementing" or "filling out" the subject. In this context "nouns" are degraded from the status of "names" or cries, to "things."

It is true that these old parts of speech are far from exhaustive or complete as tools of grammatical analysis. Evolved gradually by the early grammarians to deal with Greek speech and later adapted with moderate success to Latin, they do not, as we know, serve adequately even for Modern English or for Standard Average European generally. But the schemes which supplement or supplant these parts of speech, while often much more adequate and true to the genius of language, all seem inevitably to labor under the same difficulty of seeking to *envision* or to reduce in terms of spatial models what is essentially not visual at all, but auditory. If you are going to scientize language, this you must do.

Improved linguistic terminology is, if anything, even more diagrammatic than that of unreconstructed grammars. The term "context," so assertive today, meaning something like what-is-woven-together, just as much as the term "syntax" (a "set-up" or "array"), is dependent for its formation on a patently spatial model. It is a picture-term. Other neologisms are no better. Seeking to approach linguistic facts in as unprejudiced a manner as possible, J. R. Firth, followed by R. H. Robins and others, in

analyzing a given language, does not look for "parts" of speech either in general or in particular, but for what he calls "formal scatters"[4] of any sort. These are to be described, and the terms of the linguistic analysis are to be derived directly from these descriptions. "Formal scatters" is a fascinating term, for it shows, first of all, an awareness of the disability from which all analysis and particularly linguistic analysis, suffers: the disabilities attendant on freezing things in terms such as "part" or "form" (etymologically associated with the notion of "outline"). Particularly in the initial stages terminology must not be too formal, too rigid, too inadaptable. We shall then not look for speech "forms," which we presumably should have set up in our minds in advance. Rather, we must look for "scatters," which are things which we encounter without preparation. But they must be *formal* scatters! The form has indeed been de-emphasized, at least temporarily, but it has to be there after all. We may have determined not to analyze the language in question into "forms" or any other terms given beforehand, but we have determined to find its "structure," and therefore have assumed that it has *some* kind of structure—in other words, we have come to it convinced that even the sound pattern must be reduced or tamed or metamorphosed by being reinterpreted by analogy with things in space—where we have simply replaced form or "outline" with structure or "set-up."

I do not wish to appear to be making fun of the notion of "formal scatters." It seems to me that this approach to language is a good one, better than those which I know it supplants. I only wish to point out the limitations of any analysis of language. There is something in the realm of sound which eludes the very idea of analysis itself. Ultimately—we cannot go into this here—it is the element which belongs to the world of persons, who obviously cannot be "broken down" by analysis. When we approach even spoken language scientifically, we reduce it in one way or another in terms of "structure," which means in terms of space. We take communication out of the world where it has its real existence and treat it in terms of analogies and models. In reducing sound to structure, we can handle it very accurately and discriminatingly. In terms of "structure" we can account for everything there is here—except for the mystery of sound itself. A whole volume of diagrams of sound waves makes no noise. There is indeed nothing that we can do about this situation except recognize it, and with it the poverty—which is not at all the same as inaccuracy—of any scientific treatment, not only of sound, but of anything.

4.

The modern approach to grammar, with its awareness of the fact that linguistic performance is primarily oral performance and only derivatively graphic—"grammatical" in the basic etymological sense—carries with it an awareness, or the possibility of an awareness, of the limitations in the scientific approach to reality. This awareness of the limitations of science is very much a part of modern life, where it paradoxically accompanies a confidence in the possibilities of scientific achievement within limited fields. We live in an age which, if not entirely free of brashness in its scientific enthusiasms, has grown increasingly aware of the limitations of what had once been thought to be universal scientific fact and theory. Classical or Newtonian physics has been dis-

[4] J. R. Firth, "The Technique of Semantics," in *Transactions of the Philological Society of Great Britain* (1935), p. 62; cf. Robins, pp. 91-99.

covered to be a certain kind of physics, supplemented or transcended by relativity and quantum physics. Euclidean geometry is accurate, but it is now known to be a special geometry for special situations which does not exhaust geometrical possibilities at all. Aristotelian logic is a marvelously accurate logic, but, as Lukasiewicz has painstakingly worked out, one designed for certain special situations and far from adequate for the analysis of all thought structure. What was once taken to be "universal grammar" has been discovered to be not universal at all, but a special grammar fairly adequate for the Greek language and quite incapable of accounting satisfactorily for performances in languages unrelated to Greek.

A sense of the limitations of grammar has thus developed in conjunction with a sense of the limitations of all science. But in the case of grammar this discovery of limitations has been associated with a new awareness of the primacy of the spoken over the written word. As is perhaps apparent from what has already been said, recognition of the fact that grammar has ultimately to deal with speech and with sound has not only been associated with a sense of the limitations of science but has strongly reinforced this sense. Sound is more important in language than anywhere else, and sound as sound exhibits curious resistance to scientific treatment. Attention to the vocal as vocal normally brings some kind of awareness of the limitations endemic to notions of "structure," that is, to nonvocal frames of reference.

Now any mature consideration of communication must include an awareness of the psychological meaning of sound as sound, and thus, to cut short what is already a long story, we must frankly admit that a mature consideration of communication must by the same token gnaw away at the foundation of grammar itself in so far as grammar is interested in what can be interpreted as structure and diagram. Indeed, in developing the general awareness of the particularity and limitations of science, the mature study of language plays a leading role, perhaps the leading role. Grammar has in a sense succumbed to the maturing of language study. While we recognize the need for studying languages in terms of fixed forms, and the necessity of teaching normative grammar at the primary and secondary school levels—and even at higher levels, unfortunately, as a therapeutic measure —we can no longer attach to these forms so much importance as earlier ages did. It is no longer possible in our day and age to have the unshakable confidence in the adequacy of schematic models of language—which are ultimately space models of language—that earlier ages had. Scientific awareness must be complemented here by other awarenesses, by poetic or existentialist or phenomenological awarenesses which give insights into linguistic phenomena while preserving at the same time the sense of profound mystery with which such phenomena are involved.

5.

All this suggests that the misfortunes of grammar in our schools cannot be dealt with intelligently if we think of them as the result of wrong-headedness or stupidity or even perhaps moral fault on the part of those who supposedly "control" our education. The failure of nerve on the part of grammar, the hesitancy to enforce rules, may be and is a bad thing when one is supposed to be teaching normative grammar. But it is to a great extent understandable. It arises out of a tremendous complex of

causes, which none of us completely fathom but which we can do something to understand. Like other large-scale cultural developments, the swing away from grammar—a swing which can certainly be over-estimated, and often is, but which seems in many ways quite real—is part of a pattern too extensive and ramified for any one person or group of persons to "control." We are in some ways apparently at the end of the Gutenberg era, the age which climaxed the structural approach to language and perfected the printing press, reducing once resonant words to items on a mass production assembly line until we think of a book no longer as a record of utterances or cries emanating from a living person but as a structured object or thing.

We should be naïve, however, if we expected the structural approach to language to go. Far from it. The human mind does not forget or put aside its former achievements, but builds on them. Indeed, we might conjecture that there will be more and more attempts at describing and otherwise investigating language in terms of structure, more and more schemata of language, more and more elaboration of classifications—allomorphs, morphemes, articulatory phonetics, phonemics, "bundles and fascicles of isoglosses," "assortments of isoglosses,"[5] and so on. But here the very multiplication and proliferation of the structures which are used to interpret language will bear witness to the elusiveness of the linguistic situation as a whole when approached through scientific analysis.

Moreover, as the number of languages subjected to analysis increases, the structures serving for interpretation will have to be more and more enlarged. At this point, another cause of the present grammatical malaise can be indicated. It is nothing other than the growing global consciousness of mankind, the human race's growing self-consciousness and self-possession. It was easy to be devoted to Greek grammar when that part of the human race which was in Southern Europe was not aware where the rest of mankind was, or even that there was a rest of mankind. Now that we know, or can learn, a little of the linguistic of Hopi or Shona or Bassa, the enthusiasm for the older closed grammar systems must yield to more open or elastic schemata.

The present situation has not merely multiplied the items with which grammar and other divisions of linguistics must deal. The developing global consciousness of the human race has placed a new accent on communication, which is to say on language as functioning, on language as living rather than as frozen in grammatical analyses, and thus ultimately again on that mysterious thing, sound. The old concept of universal grammar, involved with Harris' and others' naïve approach to language through writing, has consequently badly suffered. We had promised earlier to compare the eighteenth-century universal grammarian, James Harris, with a modern grammarian, the late Otto Jespersen, and can turn to this comparison now. In Jespersen's famous work, *The Philosophy of Grammar,* first published in 1924, we find the notion of a universal grammar yielding to that of "living grammar"—a term which forms the title of Jespersen's first chapter. The essence of language, Jespersen begins by observing,

> is human activity—activity on the part of one individual to make himself understood by another, and activity on the part of that other to understand what was in the mind of the first. These two individuals . . . should never

[5] See H. A. Gleason, Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics* (New York, 1955), p. 293.

be lost sight of if we want to understand the nature of language and of that part of language which is dealt with in grammar. But in former times this was often overlooked, and words and forms were often treated as if they were things or natural objects with an existence of their own—a conception which may have been to a great extent fostered through a too exclusive preoccupation with written or printed words, but which is fundamentally false . . . .

The spoken and the heard word is the primary form of language.

At this point Browning's dead grammarian comes to life. This is a declaration in favor of freedom and in favor of communication itself. By the same token it is a declaration in favor of the internationalism toward which all men and all communication must move. It promises not an easy universalism of communication, but one which is more universal than that of a statically conceived, so-called universal grammar. Is it entirely an accident that the most eminent modern English grammarian and the champion of vocal sound over mechanized silence should be not an Englishman or even an American but a Dane? Jespersen's devotion to a language outside and beyond his own registers the drive toward internationalism which linguistic studies today frequently foster.

Jespersen's view here is, moreover, representative of most modern grammarians', who however they may differ in various theoretical details, commonly agree that grammar must study primarily voice, not writing. Jespersen's philosophy of grammar may not be perfect, and it is certainly not complete, but in so far as he and others today acknowledge the primacy in communication of the living world of sound, they are keeping language in a condition where it can continue to be serviceable to twentieth-century man, and to man of the twenty-first and of the thirtieth centuries. Moving ahead out of the Gutenberg era, even as we perfect our primitive translating machines, we have also to face the fact that communication is ultimately rooted not in things but in persons. Like persons, it is alive with a mysterious interior life, so that what is most meaningful in it radically resists being "structured" at all.

* * *

WHITMAN AND THE AMERICAN IDIOM

C. Carroll Hollis

IN examining unpublished Whitman manuscripts in the Feinberg Collection, I have encountered valuable material on slang and idiomatic language. This new evidence merits attention not only for the corroboration it gives to previous scholarship but also for what it reveals of Whitman as the conscious artist of democratic America. His poetic credo, in this and other areas of his art, has been widely reported, almost as much by the poet as by his critics. But his method, particularly on the important matter of the native idiom, has been largely a problem of conjecture.

Of course there has never been any doubt about Whitman's great interest in idiomatic speech. His own essay, "Slang in America," printed in *November Boughs,* and his most important statement on language, *An American Primer,* stated his theories with characteristic vigor. Beyond these, however, his other published comments are brief and frequently enigmatic. Some years ago Bliss Perry quoted from an early 1850 MS one of Whitman's reminder notes to himself: "Common idioms and phrases—Yankeeisms and vulgarisms—cant expressions, when very pat only." Whitman had not intended this memorandum for publication, but he had written in *Democratic Vistas* that "the infant genius of American poetic expression" might be found "in some western idiom, or native Michigan or Tennessee repartee, or stump-speech or allusion of the Manhattan, Boston, Philadelphia, or Baltimore mechanic." But between these remarks Whitman makes no definite indication that he had himself made conscious preparation for poetic use of common speech. Although there is much praise in the 1855 Preface for the language of the common people, Whitman nowhere explains that the poet of the people should search for slang phrases, copy down idiomatic expressions, interview workmen to get their lingo, clip articles and lists on provincialisms and slang sayings from assorted journals, and file all these for later sifting and culling in the making of poems.

Yet, from my understanding of this new manuscript evidence, this is exactly what he was doing, sporadically before 1855, more or less regularly from 1856 to 1860, and intermittently thereafter. To make his home-made filing system he cut all the pages out of a book, retaining the stubs to tip in sheets of paper, fragments, and clippings. On two paper labels, for the front cover and the spine of the original volume, Whitman has written *Words,* and he has pierced each cover and inserted two pieces of cord to hold the covers together. In this *Words* catch-all, he inserted a curious array of notes that indicate an amateur but shrewdly perceptive understanding of language growth and practice. The entries are in no special order, and they concern etymology, folk tales, philology, vocabulary, and place names, as well as the idiom and slang entries represented below.

Whitman knew the leading dictionaries of his day, Webster and Worcester, and had in fact studied them with elab-

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orate care. But the American idiom is more than a collection of word entities, and he soon found that the dictionaries were of little help for what he wanted. The grammars were even less valuable. In an article on language that he clipped to save, he underlines a critical comment on Murray's *Grammar:*

> This work is not without merit in the details and examples of English construction. But its fault even in that part is that he confounds the genius of the English language, *making it periphrastic and literal, instead of elliptical and idiomatic.* According to Mr. Murray, hardly any of our best writers even wrote a word of English.

The criticism must have confirmed his own reactions to this famous work, for in an entry elsewhere in *Words* appears his own note, which he entitles "Murray's Grammar":

> The fault is that he fails to understand those points where language [is] strongest, and where [its] developements [*sic*] should [be] most encouraged, namely, in being *elliptical* and *idiomatic.* Murray would make of the young men merely a correct and careful set of writers under laws. He would deprive writing of its life—there would be nothing voluntary and insociant [*sic*] left.

Whether Murray's authoritarianism was sufficiently distressing to justify the universalizing of these strictures or whether Whitman found other grammars equally disturbing cannot be determined, but in another entry he makes an over-all castigation that reflects a characteristic attitude:

> Drawing language into line by rigid grammatical rules is the theory of the martinet applied to the (most ethereal) processes of the spirit, and to the luxuriant growth of all that makes art. It is for small schoolmasters, not for great souls. Not only the Dictionary of the English Language but the Grammar of it, has yet to be written.

Although there is no indication in *Words* or elsewhere in Whitman's work that he ever thought of writing a pioneer functional grammar, he clearly recognized that the traditional texts were harmful in inhibiting the growth and evolution of American English. But if the grammars were guilty of sins of commission, the dictionaries were also at fault in their sins of omission: "Is not a Phrase Book, now an American one, just as much needed as a Dictionary?—(the above is a hint for the new Dictionary)."

This Phrase Book never materialized but remained a side interest of Whitman's throughout his life. He was convinced that "no man can really understand words, except [one] (and rarely will one be met) who has the prime instinct—the something out of which and [of] which the grammarians and lexicographers so far have not one of them had." Although this "prime instinct" is nowhere defined, Whitman felt he had the peculiar qualifications implied. But more than that, he also recognized that an instinct for the idiom was not enough, that the everyday language of the people was quite as full of prosaic hand-me-downs as of original expressions. To know the native American idiom, he could not accept a secondary authority but must go to the people themselves.

His hints and reminders to himself, scattered though they are throughout *Words,* are clear indications of the plan he had in mind. In what he entitles "an axiom about language," he is apparently urging himself to extend his knowledge of the native speech habits.

> Talk to everybody, everywhere—try it on—keep it up—*real talk*—no airs—real questions—no one will be offended—or if any one is, that will teach the offendee just as any one else.

This would obviously mean that he would extend his friendship among workmen and talk to all people, not only in Brooklyn but wherever he happened to be.

In the South, words that have sprouted up from the dialect and peculiarities of the slaves —the Negroes—the south is full of negro-words —their idioms and pronunciation are heard everywhere.

How far he went in exploring Southern speech patterns will probably never be determined, for few records were kept of the earliest years of his language study. Constance Rourke, in her perceptive chapter on Whitman's language in *American Humor,* guesses shrewdly that for Whitman it was "the South which was the old Southwest" that was the source of his understanding of southern language and attitude. The *Words* collection supports this to the extent that there is only one entry that specifically relates to the Atlantic South. Whitman entitles it "Virginia Idioms" and lists only two items—"How's all?" and "Where you been at?"—with no comment. Certainly Whitman's interest in Negro dialect had no direct relation to his poetry.

Other areas of language use were examined with greater opportunity for recording the results. Reminding himself that there were many "words arising out of the geography, agriculture, and natural traits of a country—such as many of the Southern words—also Eastern and Western words—many idiomatic phrases," he lists words and phrases in abundance. Many of these relate to what we would now call regional speech. But though he was interested in them, he was even more concerned with the

plentiful crops of words, or new applications of words arising out of the general establishment and use of new inventions, such as words from the steam-engine, and its various moving and stationary structures, on land and water —words from the electric telegraph, the sewing machine, the daguerreotype, the modern newspaper press.

To this he adds an explanation of the kind of information he expects to find: "Many of the above are words of *Personnel*—of the names applied to the men and women who have to do with the new inventions."

It has long been known that Whitman was interested in native American speech, but this new material (casual jottings though much of it is) reveals a far more realistic approach to the study of idiom than could be foreseen by the readers of *Leaves of Grass* alone. In the present absorption of scholars in amateur psycho-analysis, it is too often forgotten that Whitman was a craftsman. He had far more practical wisdom as a poet than he did as a carpenter, to be sure, but it would be absurd to think that he ever lost the habits of planning, organizing, having the proper tools at hand. Understandably, he could not know, when he heard some pat slang phrase, just what use he might make of it later, but he was not so foolish, or careless, or overconfident, as to ignore what could have subsequent value.

He collected what is to us a curious assortment of slang and idiomatic phrases (most of them entered on the same slips with French words, geographical information, literary and philological terms, etc.) from which many deductions and inferences may be drawn. The lists below have been selected as representative, and they are presented as they appear in *Words* and other manuscript slips almost certainly intended by Whitman to be included in his homemade filing system.

1) Did he do it a purpose?
That's so, easy enough—
That's a sick ticket
Well I was look's for a man—about your size
"go back"—"go back on him"
He works on his own hook

These entries, all appearing on the same page, are all legible except for the *look's* of the fourth line. Whitman some-

times hurries the *ing* ending, and the sense of the line would indicate that he meant *looking*. Such a reading would make the apostrophe a dot over the *i*. All these sayings are still more or less familiar, although the expressive "sick ticket" is new to me.

2) "Words"—the New York Bowery boy
—"Sa-a-y!"—Whā-ä-t?

In this entry the "Words" which appears first is Whitman's reminder to himself that the notation, presumably made while he was on one of his regular trips to New York, is to be filed in the *Words* book on his return. Here, as elsewhere, he seems to be trying, more or less successfully, to capture something of the pronunciation and intonation of New York patois. Elsewhere in *Words* he comments on "one of the first desiderata" in an American dictionary:

a set of arbitrary sound-marks attached to letters—each mark belonging to that specific sound. How clear this would make language! especially to a child, an illiterate reader aloud, or a foreigner—leg-is-la-tive.

It is a sensible idea, although it is difficult to know just how the marks in the example were to be used. He prefers New York (and even the Bowery) to Boston as a standard, and in another entry he objects strongly to Webster's suggested pronunciation of the *a* sound.

Webster's sickish Boston pronunciation of ä in mäst, läughter, etc. He leaves out altogether that rich sound of *a* like the dwelt-upon and prolonged tone of *a*, the middle letter of "sad," "man"—viz,? "sa-h-d"—Webster does not know the sound nor give any mark to it—? bare, mare,—

Probably Whitman remained uncertain, in his correction of Webster as well as for the Bowery boy, how to suggest clearly the difference in the intonation and the flatting of the *a* sound he had observed. He worked out for himself a somewhat naive code for pronunciation of words, especially French words, of which there are a great many in the *Words* book.

3) "hold up your head up,"
"Bully for you"
a "nasty" man
"that's rough"
log-rolling

These are ordinary slang expressions, although the first one with the *up* used twice is, for that reason only, somewhat strange. Whitman's ear was quick to catch slang phrases with different prepositional endings, as will be noticed in entry #5 below. Perhaps he was thinking of the conventional expression "hold up your head" and realizing the speech pattern of putting the preposition at the end, entered both by a slip of the pen. The "Bully for you" is not repeated, but there is another entry "bully poet" which is comparable. Why Whitman should put quotation marks around certain words and phrases and not around others—as with *log-rolling*—is not clear, although it may be that he found *log-rolling* in print and the others only in speech.

1) all right	"So long" (a delicious
swim out	American—New York
cave in	—idiomatic phrase at
dry up	parting—equivalent to
switch off	"good bye" "adieu"
git and get	etc.)
he is / I am } on that	
may-be (mebbee)	
bub	
sis	honey-fugling
Guacho (wä-ko)	
give him away	

This list continues Whitman's recording of phrases with prepositional endings. Apparently the variety of prepositions so used caught his fancy, for there is another word slip, intended for *Words* but not inserted, which includes other such phrases. In the above list, the part of special interest is the "So long" entry

and explanation. The connection with the famous poem of this title, which concluded the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass,* is unmistakable, and indeed the notation here would seem to be the genesis of that poem. The *git and get* sounds as if it were an expression Whitman got from his bus driver friends, as a shout to the horses to urge them forward, but is otherwise unfamiliar to me. The *honey-fugling* is also new, although it appears in dictionaries of slang and was current a century ago. Whitman uses the word himself many years later in a revealing comment to Traubel: "I except Emerson from the catalogue of the honeyfugled old men—and Tennyson—though I believe Browning was a club man." The other entries, except for that on *Guacho,* are obviously present for their idiomatic interest and must have meant to Whitman quite what they signify today.

5) This a large page of yellow paper, folded four times. On the outside Whitman has written Words with blue pencil, presumably to remind himself to enter these words and phrases in the *Words* book. Opened up the sheet is 8x12 inches, and Whitman has ruled with pencil three columns. A list of words is given in each column, each list running down to the middle of the page where the first fold appears. This sheet was apparently used a number of times, for Whitman uses different kinds of pencil and ink. A few of the entries are neither slang nor idiom, but I include the whole as an interesting example of many such lists which seem to have no apparent order but do provide a fascinating area for speculation as to Whitman's associational patterns.

fiasco
razzia
leal
prestige
maya (illusion)
enferme (n.) (an fèr mé)
(confined air
"the air of hell")
enfermer (v a) (to shut up
to coop up)
environment—environ—s
banditti (Italian)
bandit
plus
minus
caliber
pronunciamento
came(a)rilla

guachos (wä kos)
in South America, Peru, Chile, the natives, descendants of the Europeans, mixed and crossed with the aborigines—also more or less with blacks

peon
flume
cañon (canyon)
prairie
gulch
"my son"
"pop" "dad"
"yes-sir-ee"
cosset
"played out"
switch off
sock it in
stay with
scantlings
slope
slide
switch off
dilly-dally
take the stump
stump speech

"on it"
"Hymner"
imperturbe (new noun)
having *to do*
literat, (noun m. or fem.
one of the literati
bully ("bully poet")
jab—jabbed
"pawed" (fight • • • • •
("Coburn pawed at • • •
to "scull"
sluice "sluice-head"
(inamorous)
shoulder-hitter
"on the shoulder"
"travels on his muscle"
"muscle"

"Lorette" a modern Parisian word—those of a rather higher order, mistresses, kept women—prostitutes

The first column has little to do with American idiomatic speech, although Whitman does enter *fiasco* in *Words* with the parenthetical explanation "he suffered fiasco." This is a strange but not unlikely use of the term, and it is possible that the phrase may have had a rueful significance to Whitman in 1856 to 1860, when he entered it. For the

Word entry of *fiasco,* he also takes another word from the second column, *scantlings,* but there is no indication why the two words should be listed one below the other. In view of Whitman's earlier trade, I had at first assumed that *scantling* was the carpenter term. However, there is a manuscript poem in the Trent Collection at Duke University that deals with the race of "scantlings" —"scant of muscle"—but nevertheless "from the strong growth of America," which would indicate that Whitman found a different use for the word. Further down in the first column, the entry *maya (illusion)* provides him with the key word in the famous Calamus poem, "Are You the New Person Drawn Toward Me?" The line

> Have you no thought O dreamer that it may be all maya, illusion?

now terminates the poem (in the 1860 edition a few lines follow but were dropped in 1867), indicating that the Hindu word, with its definition in apposition, was the final warning Whitman intended. The word *caliber* (as *plus* and *minus* above it) seems quite out of place on this list. The *guachos* entry repeats the pronunciation aids given earlier, and does give a definition, but otherwise is of interest here only in that it shows that Whitman goes from the bottom of one column to the top of the next.

In the second column, the words *peon, cañon, prairie,* and *gulch* receive separate entry in *Words; cañon, prairie,* and *vaquero* are found in the poetry. The rest of the column relates in varying ways to entry #4 above. The family terms, *my son, pop,* and *dad,* plus the *bub* and *sis,* indicate that one list may have suggested the terms of the other. This guess would be confirmed by the duplication and extension of the slang phrases that end with a preposition. The other words and phrases are more or less clear. *Slope* was a favorite word of Whitman's and is used numerous times in the poetry. *Take the stump* is not used elsewhere, but there is an entry in *Words* for "on the stump," for which Whitman adds this explanation: "from the western practice at times, of political speakers mounting a tree-stump, and so holding forth." In *Democratic Vistas* there is a sentence, quoted at the beginning of this paper, which uses *Stump speech* in an effective fashion.

The third column has a number of entries of unusual interest. The *on it* would seem quite like current slang. *Hymner* would hardly seem original or imaginative enough to merit inclusion in a word-list, but it does imply a condescension toward hymn singers which perhaps pleased Whitman. The *imperturbe (new noun)* entry is directly related to the "Me Imperturbe" poem of the 1860 edition with its famous opening line,

> Me imperturbe, standing at ease in Nature.

The word is used this one time only, but whether Whitman's parenthetical comment means that this is a new noun that he has made up or a word he had just found in a book or heard in speech cannot be determined. It is clear, however, that the form of the word as entered here is intentional, and its presence reveals his regular device of entering words (as *maya.illusion)* that had stirred his imagination. The *having to do,* in the sense of being occupied with something, is still used, but the phrase has such a variety of connotations that it is difficult to say just what it meant to Whitman. The *literat* is a borrowed term used widely in the poetry and prose but not involved in the present study. *Bully (bully poet)* is not used by Whitman but a similar entry is seen in *Words* (cf., #3 above).

The next two entries come from prize fighting. The explanation after *pawed* is partly blurred by a fold in the paper. It would seem unlikely that Whitman would bother to enter *scull* in the sense of propelling a boat, for this use of the word would be much too ordinary and obvious. The use of quotation marks around the single word instead of around the infinitive would indicate a slang meaning, and it is possible the word may have had some sexual connotation. The next entry also seems to have been entered for the sexual meaning, as the parenthetical explanation indicates. I presume that *sluice-head* has explicit reference to sexual impotency, although it is extremely difficult to trace this level of slang. If this is the meaning, there is apparently no connection with the next two entries which seem clearly to be further listings of prize fight lingo. Why there are no quotation marks around *shoulder-hitter* but use of them for *on the shoulder* may indicate an extra meaning for the latter term, but I cannot imagine what it could be. The phrase *travels on his muscle* would also seem to be boxing slang, but here again the following entry, *muscle*, would seem to have been entered for an additional meaning. It is, of course, well known that for the latter word, *muscle*, Whitman had a special use, the term being used regularly for the male sex organ, but one can only surmise that such was the intention here. The last word in the column, *Lorette*, is hardly slang, but, like some of the words above, indicates Whitman's search for appropriate words to describe persons rarely included in poetry, particularly in Victorian America. He enters the term again in *Words*, giving himself a hint for pronunciation, lo rè t, and defines it less precisely than above as "ladies of easy virtue." Elsewhere in *Words* he makes the odd entry, "The Girls l'Amour," which he defines as "Love-girls."

Investigation of the biographical implications of the possible extra meanings of certain words in this column is outside the province of this study, but it is important to note that Whitman is shrewdly aware that prize fight slang, like any other slang, has double meanings that may be of use in his poetry. In this sense, it is not impossible that such entries in the second column as *cosset, played out, switch off, sock it in, stay with, dilly-dally,* are of interest to him aside from their literal meaning. In this connection it is important to remember that Whitman was an extremely modest person in the 1850's and that nothing we know about him would indicate any sly satisfaction in writing out such words in a private notebook just because they were naughty. If anything, the reverse would better fit the evidence available in *Words*, and the inferences to his poetry are significant.

There are two entries in *Words*, appearing in different parts of the book and on different kinds of paper, which indicate special uses of slang in the sense indicated above. The first of these entries Whitman has gone over to make corrections, but I include a transliteration to show his attempt to de-personalize his definition:

> well hung—(This phrase applied to a man—organically of) Has organic/, good principles, not disposed to meaness or (dirty) dirtiness.—Bodily, possessed of (his) full share of /the/ manly ability, as with women.

This slang word is used in the Preface of 1855, in the next to the last paragraph, where Whitman is explaining that literature is to be tested by American standards. Implying that those standards have never been set down, he proceeds to ask the questions that America must ask in evaluating its literature.

One of the questions is: "Will it help breed one goodshaped and wellhung man, and a woman to be his perfect and independent mate?" What Whitman does here is to take a term of sex slang and use it in reverse to connote the frank and healthy virility he demands of democratic literature. This is the only formal use of the phrase, but an interesting conversational usage is recorded by Traubel that corroborates the earlier meaning. Whitman is talking about two of his friends, William O'Connor and Richard Watson Gilder:

> William gets on Watson's nerves—William is so virile, Watson so feminine (I don't mean any disrespect by that word—I don't mean what people mean when they say sissy: some of the fellows were built for the more orderly performances: William was not: he was virile: he was well-hung; he was no trifler or half-trifler but a man who had the arm to sling an axe and the soul to swing it justly: that was William.

The other instance in *Words* that relates to this discussion is the entry: "The word wanted for the male and female act—'clinch'." Here the attempt is to take a word from slang, presumably the boxing term, and apply it to the sexual act, as he does specifically in one of the key poems in the Children of Adam section, "From Pent-up Aching Rivers," line 50:

> From the bending curve and the clinch.

As I interpret Whitman's use of language here in the word-list and in the poetry, there is no sniggering smirk in double meanings and innuendoes, but a frank and bold attempt to circumvent the inevitable obstacles in the poetic treatment of sexual love. Having made an engagement, a pact, with himself to treat love in his poetry, he is artistically concerned with shaping a language explicit enough for his needs yet freed of the coarseness and brutality of four letter vulgarisms. In all the instances I have found of this kind of language use, Whitman is uncannily sensitive and delicate in word choice, and rather than the most brazen is really the most circumspect and decorous of poets, displaying always a rectitude which critics are loath to grant him as artist or as citizen.

There are, of course, many words and word-lists which have no connection with Whitman's specialized interest explained above. Most of the entries, in fact, show little more than an exceptionally good ear for the expressive word or phrases. Samples follow, with brief comments on such inferences as relate to Whitman's purposes.

> 6) a good word—"rattled" i. e. confused and put out by being suddenly called upon to do something.

This must have been a good word for Whitman, although it is not used in either poetry or prose, for he went to some trouble to save the entry. The word slip is a torn part of a blank page, originally white or cream colored, but now yellow. The writing is in indelible purple crayon and was written on a book cover or some other coarse material base, for the crayon mark shows the roughness of the material below it. The effort to save the note reflects something of the elaborate care to which Whitman went to keep anything of possible value to his program. There are many such entries of words or phrases either hastily or carefully filed but not used. The word *spoor*, for example, is entered twice, and one can almost tell by Whitman's comments his impatience to find a use for it. The first entry:

> "spoor"—signs, track, or trail of an animal, etc., followed by hunters in Africa or Australia —viz: all the signs, footprints, broken limbs, dung, moisture, or any other indication—

Later in the *Words* book, the second shorter entry:

Spoor (the track or trail of animals—(in Africa) (why not in America or anywhere?)

The question mark at the end is typical of Whitman, for the very fact that a word was apt but was not used seemed to him one of the perpetual challenges of language custom.

7) pantaloons—"pants"—trowsers (what root?) —breeches—

Do not these words illustrate a law of language, namely, that with the introduction of any new thing, (as the pantaloons) the word, *from the same land or source* is introduced with them?

In this entry Whitman has crossed out the reminder to himself to look up the etymology of *trowsers*. Perhaps he did so because he found this admittedly difficult word too complicated to trace with the dictionaries available to him. Nevertheless, an important deduction is possible here, for in the *Words* book, except for this one, such questions were always answered. Etymology was always an important consideration for Whitman and presumably was sometimes a governing factor in word choice for the poetry. The rest of the entry, particularly the naive discovery of a "law of language," is interesting for its revelation of Whitman's amateur curiosity on the development of American English. Elsewhere in *Words* he adds another note: "Pantaloons—for men—were only introduced into America from France about the commencement of the present century." In the 1855 Preface he theorizes that American experience has strengthened the English language, "already brawny enough and limber and full enough." But he welcomes additions, acknowledging that American English "has attracted the terms of daintier and gayer and subtler and more elegant tongues." If *pantaloons* is a somewhat humorous example of this, there are many entries, particularly from the French but a few from Spanish, which clearly indicate Whitman's desire to aid in this refinement.

8) a) "load" "sold"—sold him—got a load on them
b) dodge—("that was only a dodge")
c) "cut loose" (railroad men's term—Fred's explanation)
d) "got a dote on" as the drivers say
e) lunatic—("looney")
f) varmint (from vermin)
g) absences—("His mind was full of absences")
h) shin-dig spree bender bummer
i) No. 9 *goes up* by Treas. 10:25 down —11:10
j) a phrase of the race-course of a horse "he's got the foot" or "he hasn't got the foot to do it"
k) xxx he said of the great fat young B— —"he has too much *slush-muscle* about him"
l) the common people say of nourishing food that "it stays with a man"
m) "plunder" (i. e.) miscellaneous goods

This list is made up of assorted entries reflecting the varied sources of Whitman's slang collection and showing something of his ability to catch the apt phrase. The first two entries are fairly obvious and are probably used today much as Whitman heard them. Entry c, *cut loose* is equally clear and is interesting as one of the few examples of railroad slang. Fred the nameless was apparently a friend who worked on the railroad, but Whitman had many such friends and knew railroad lingo very well. Entry d, *got a dote on*, is meaningless to me, although *dote* may refer to one of the passengers (a corruption of *dolt*? or *dotard*?) or may mean that the driver is *doting* (is infatuated) with someone or something. Entry e, *looney*, is still current, but entry g, *his mind was full of absences*, is a startlingly effective phrase that I have never heard. Entry f is typical of many which point out the origin of the slang word. Whitman delights in noting pejorative changes, entering the time honored *villain* ex-

ample much as many of us do in the classroom today. Entry h is surprising to me only to the extent that I had not realized these words had currency a century ago. Entry i, *goes up by,* is intriguing because of the rest of the entry: my guess is that No. 9 street car leaves for the Treasury Building at 10:25 a.m. and returns at 11:10 a.m. Entry j is race track slang and is probably still current. Entry k, on *slush-muscle,* is enigmatic to me. Perhaps it refers to a boxer or other athlete who is "out of training," as we might now say "he's all gone to blubber." In any case the phrase seems to connote scorn or derision. This entry is not in the small neat hand typical of the others, but is in a large flowing script using up so much of the paper that Whitman had to paste it in lengthwise. Entry l is still current, but entry m, *plunder,* seems to have disappeared.

For all of these, even those I have not heard, I perceive a certain inherent adequacy that pleases my own fancy for expressive slang, but whether this is true for the general reader of *Leaves of Grass* I cannot say. Slang itself is a kind of poetry, as Whitman clearly recognized, and it should be noted that his awareness of it and of idiomatic rhythms necessitates a qualification of the much used biblical analogy as a clue to his verse structure.

9) *political, electioneering, party words*
loco focos, black republicans, abolitionists
free soilers, know-nothings, tories
?whigs (what a ridiculous name for an American party)
"posted up"—(a most expressive phrase, derived from account-keeping)
loot boodle

This is a clear enough list, in its beginning at any rate. The terms themselves date the entry as either 1856 or 1860. The comment on the *Whigs* is typical of Whitman's scorn for the continued use in America of terms that have no relation to our democratic traditions. The *posted up* is not used in the poetry or prose but is found in a letter of Whitman's of August 7, 1863, to Hugo Fritsch, whom he thanks for "writing me your letters—posting me up." This particular wording is new to me, the current "keep posted" having replaced it, I imagine. The *loot* and *boodle* were added to this entry at a later date, and they have no intended connection with the previous words.

Whitman was always engaged in an endless pursuit of words for *Leaves of Grass,* and the slang phrases quoted on the foregoing pages are only a part of the larger collection that makes up *Words.* He used his handy filing system to jot down much of interest to the student of language, quite aside from his use of the book as a storehouse for poetic vocabulary. Many of the pages are used to hold clippings he took from magazines and newspapers; only a few are dated but all are significant as source material. There is, for instance, one page which is covered with two slightly over-lapping newspaper inserts. The outer one concerns last names, listing a double column of them to show how they developed in varying ways from trades, occupations, topography. The other is entitled "Provincialisms" and lists about a hundred regional expressions, slang phrases, and so on. Elsewhere in the book, Whitman clips another article which gives the report of Dr. D. Francis Bacon in which that "authority" speaks of the "eighty different languages (not dialects) in constant use" in New York. These and other such clippings reveal the great fascination the American idiom had for Whitman and the great care to which he went to preserve whatever might be of future use for *Leaves of Grass.*

Yet he did not always find what he searched for:

> Words Wanted
> A word which happily expresses the idea of
> An Equal Friend of All These States
> Because this is a word to express what must become a distinct class of persons here perhaps now arising.

When the idiom did not have the word, he would experiment with language, with borrowed words, with far-fetched neologisms: so, for the above need, such attempts as *adhesiveness, ensemble, En Masse, Camerado, Libertad,* and many others. These are acceptable and, indeed, are sometimes praised, but I am convinced that Whitman was forced to use them for lack of the native word for which he was always hunting. The same searching did, however, give him so much of the language included in the general modifier "idiomatic," that no one questions the encomium that most pleased him in his last years, "the first native American poet."

The *Words* book itself, important as it is to an understanding of Whitman's creative processes, by no means embraces all of his ideas about language. In fact the comments about idiom and the listing of slang phrases are really only parts of an elaborate but never fully written out theory of language which engaged part of his mind throughout most of his life. Some of these ideas were put together hastily to make the demand article "Slang in America," but the essay is not wholly satisfactory. His friend and biographer, Dr. Bucke of Canada, "thinks it great guns," but Whitman admits it is

> quite insignificant—not important from any point of view. . . . As to the slang itself—you know I was an industrious collector: slang was one of my specialties. I originally had no intention of putting this material together as I have done now.

He is not being overly modest or facetious in this comment to Traubel, for the manuscript material in Mr. Feinberg's possession includes a tremendous number of jottings, notes, elaborately revised paragraphs, lists and figures, summaries and digests, that all reveal the magnitude and scope of his language curiosity.

After Whitman's death, Traubel gathered many of these notes and edited them as *An American Primer.* This small book has long been the most neglected major item in the Whitman canon, and yet (with Bucke's *Notes and Fragments,* almost equally neglected by psychoanalytic critics) provides insights into the organization and shaping of *Leaves of Grass* without which Whitman as conscious literary artist cannot be understood. In the full examination of Whitman as artist—to include his conscious as well as his subconscious motivations—much of his language study will be properly seen as subordinate to and as preparation for his role as native poet. This is the correct attitude, for without the poetry the rest would not have been preserved, but having been preserved it would be folly not to read his language comments for their own sake.

Schooled in language more by the print shop than by the textbook, Whitman made many amateur discoveries that strike us now as naive and sometimes as the wildest sort of boners. But his native shrewdness was such that he rarely made the same blunder twice, and he quickly worked out a terminology to classify and categorize his experience. For instance, in trying to explain to Traubel the relationship between argot and slang, he went at it this way:

> The argot in New York has the most curious ramifications. No roundaboutness—everything direct. Take a case: counterfeit money: a fellow wants to pass it: he uses every word

through a substitute: he don't "pass" it—he "shoves" it: it is not "counterfeit"—it is "queer"; he therefore "shoves the queer." That is *argot*. Strange to say *argot* found it hard to get into the lingo of the soldier class. The average soldier in the War was from the back-country: honest, honorable, totally illiterate, of good instincts, hearty, friendly to a degree: he took slowly, very slowly to the slanginess so common almost else. But finally it crept in even there. The boys got so they demanded a vocabulary that could be called their own.

But however much he enjoyed slang, he was well aware that distinctions were necessary. "Slang is too stubborn a subject to answer the beck and call of every incidental scribbler," he told Traubel, and again, "all slang is not equally good: there are slang words, phrases, which carry no meaning with them." So, in the only negative comment I have found that belongs to the early, shaping period of *Leaves of Grass,* he can warn:

America may not insist today of literary expression that it should depict life and characters here with all their native colors and idioms and the smack of atmosphere and soil,—for life and characters here at present are individually crude; they are in transitional conditions, too rapid, too terrible, too varied and boiling and bubbling with formative processes.

The circumstances that occasioned this cautionary statement are not apparent, for this is taken from an untitled slip of paper and there is no way of knowing to whom the remarks were addressed and what relationship to *Leaves of Grass* is intended.

Elsewhere, however, Whitman is direct and specific in his praise of the language Americans have inherited and in announcing the task of improving it to which the true poet must dedicate himself. Although something of this is given in *An American Primer,* his most important comments on these matters have still not been published. Mr. Feinberg has called my attention to a whole new segment of manuscript material, some of which appears below, which bears significantly on the origin, purpose, and use of the *Words* book.

Whitman in the 1850's thought of himself as much a potential orator as a poet, and much of the material of *Leaves of Grass* was originally organized for declamatory purposes. Of the many lectures partly prepared but never delivered, one was on Language and Literature. The manuscripts in the Feinberg Collection belonging to this lost lecture are small slips of paper, many of them from the paper covers of the first edition of 1855, barely legible because of the smallness of the writing, the faded ink, the many insertions and emendations. But such parts as can be worked out show clearly how important a native language was to Whitman and why he went to such elaborate lengths to organize and prepare his *Words* book. I have put together ten scattered and unnumbered slips in what seems to be a coherent arrangement, although in justice to Whitman's prose style it should be emphasized that this was not intended by him as a finished statement. For lack of an actual title, I propose that his little essay be called "The American Idiom."

Of all the wonder-growths of humanity, nought is more wonderful than language. And of all languages, which other is so grand or has the nature and adaptability to serve so well (when we make it what it must be made) as this English? Born to have an identity of its own about five hundred years before the American era, gradually strengthening and expanding to its present sturdy and copious volume of words—adopting into itself freely from many immigrancies, many climes—passing through many changes, developments—here we possess it at last in these States.

It is our most precious inheritance from all the legacies of the past,—greater than politics, religions, or arts, greater than wealth or any inventions. (It is not a fossil language, but a broad fluid language of democracy.) Then what improvement have we to make upon it? Very great ones. It has to be acclimated here, and adapted to us and our future—many new words

are to be formed—many of the old ones conformed to our uses.

A far more complete dictionary to be written, and the grammar boldly compelled to serve the real genius underneath our speech—which is not what the schoolmen suppose, but wild, intractable, suggestive and free—perhaps in time a world's language. The English grammarians, dazzled by the lustre of the classical tongues (whose spirit is different from ours and had a different work to do), are likely straining to make an obedient, elegant and classically handsome dialect, which ours can never be—(or rather the true elegance and grandeur is more ample, and lies in another direction than they supposed). Indeed, most of the laws of grammar insisted on by ultramarine critics and schoolmasters, and by those who follow them here, are insisted on because they who record such laws know not what real grammar is, namely, the law of the living structure of language in its largest sense, the common speech of the people perhaps lying nearest it. Thus real grammar, vast, deep, perennial, has plenty of room for eccentricities and what are supposed to be gaucheries and violations.

First, then, the life-spirit of the American States must be engrafted upon their inherited language; indeed, I see the beginning of this already and enjoy it. I love to go away from books and walk amidst the strong coarse talk of men as they give muscle and bone to every word they speak. I say the great grammar of and the great Dictionary of the future must embody all these. Also they are to follow the open voices of the Americans, for no other nation speaks with such organs as ours. You who would hear superb music, go, traverse our streets. I often wander all day, on Manhattan Island through the streets toward the East River, on purpose to have the pleasure of hearing the voices of the native born and bred workmen and apprentices in the spar-yards, on piers, caulkers on the ship-scaffolds, workmen in iron, mechanics from or to their shops, drivers calling to their horses, and the like.

For me, I perceive that words would be a stain, a smutch, except for the stamina of things. As I have perused it, anything like the perfect sanity and beauty of nature is unknown and inattempted in all the literature of England. A certain, I know not what—a kind of smell—betrays all and every passage of elegant writing, old or new, in British works, that it is no fresh and hardy growth, but has been scented from outside and duly becomes stale.

While the tendencies of other minds, when viewing language, politics, religions, literature, &c, consider one or all of them as arbitrarily established, and as things better than we are, and things to rule us, the American mind shall boldly penetrate the interiors of all and treat them as servants only great because they forego us and sternly to be discarded the day we are ready for superior expressions. Beyond that, I would like to know who can examine these type-productions of foreign literati imported here, not from Great Britain only, but from anywhere, of any age, without feeling that the best, the whole, that has in them been done, ought to be far better done—ought to be superseded here in America for our own purposes by newer greater men.

THE FORUM

SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA EXCERPTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Hotel Statler, Boston
26-29 August, 1957

President Reid called the meeting to order . . . and announced the agenda for the meetings of the Administrative Council.

Hance submitted the report of the Executive Vice-President, making special mention of the two programs which Gordon F. Hostettler organized for "Departments Day" of the Centennial Convention of NEA in Philadelphia on 1 July of this year.

Wallace opened a discussion of the prospects of SAA's affiliating with the American Council of Learned Societies. The Council referred the question to the Executive Vice-President for further exploration.

The next item of business was the election of a member of the Nominating Committee. Wallace nominated Robert D. Clark. Auer moved that nominations be closed. Hance seconded. Motion passed.

Auer moved the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the continued growth of our Association increases the likelihood that nominees for offices in the Association will be less well known to the membership, and

WHEREAS, under its new Constitution the number of persons voting in the annual election of officers is substantially increased,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Secretary be hereafter instructed to include as a part of each election ballot a brief sketch of the professional biography of each nominee for the office of Second Vice-President, and of each nominee for membership in the Administrative Council, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, and made a part of the instruction to the Executive Secretary, that the general scope and character of such biographical sketches be patterned after those contained in the annual ballots for election of the officers of the AAUP and for the election of trustees of TIAA-CREF.

Hance seconded. Motion passed.

Kramer submitted the report of the *ad hoc* Committee to Make an Informal Study of the Constitution. She reported that several serious problems have arisen:

1. The Legislative Assembly seems to be submitting to its Committee on Resolutions certain questions which are constitutionally in the province of the Consultation Committee. There are other ways in which the temporary rules under which the Legislative Assembly is operating are contrary to the Constitution. The question arising is whether practice should be altered to conform to the Constitution, or the Constitution be revised to conform to practice. By general consent the members of the Council agreed that the Legislative Assembly may function during the current convention according to the rules which the First Vice-President has circulated, but that at the 1958 convention it must conform to constitutional provisions. Hance moved that a Committee on Revision of the Constitution, consisting of Magdalene Kramer (chairman), John Dietrich, Wilbur E. Gilman, Joseph F. O'Brien, and Lester Thonssen consider this and other problems, reporting to the Administrative Council at the 1958 convention in Chicago. Consideration of this committee's report is to be the first item of business of the first meeting of the Administrative Council during the 1958 convention in Chicago. Wallace seconded. Motion passed.
2. The Legislative Assembly has not in every case adhered to the constitutional provision that members of the Executive Committee of the Legislative Assembly must be members of the Legislative Assembly.
3. Some members of the Legislative Assembly are still insistent on the replacement of a member representing a geographical area if he moves into some other area. After some discussion, the consensus of the members of the Council was that they had not altered the opinion they expressed last year, that a member representing a geographical area does not forfeit his membership by moving to another area.
4. So far it has been impossible to obtain representation of all the regional associations in the Legislative Assembly.
5. Some Interest Groups have adopted constitutions contrary to the SAA Constitution.

6. Some important areas, e.g., theatre and speech correction, are not represented by Interest Groups.
7. According to Article IX, Section 4, the Legislative Assembly must hold all its meetings prior to the convention proper. Should practice be altered to conform to the Constitution, or the Constitution revised to conform to practice?
8. According to Article VIII, Section 3, the Administrative Council is responsible for all liaison activities of the Association. The provision for Co-ordinating Committees in Article XI, Section 10, seems to conflict with this provision. Revision of the Constitution should make explicit the principle underlying this apparent contradiction. The Co-ordinating Committees should report to both the Administrative Council and the Legislative Assembly.
9. A revision of Article VIII, Section 4, should make clear that the only decisions by the Administrative Council which the Legislative Assembly may reverse by a two-thirds vote are those decisions which the Administrative Council makes between conventions.

At the close of this discussion, Reid announced that he had just learned of the death of Dallas C. Dickey on Thursday, 22 August. The members of the Administrative Council stood for one minute in silent tribute to Professor Dickey.

Renshaw submitted the report of the Committee on the History of Speech Education, moving that the Council authorize the appointment of a Project Committee on a Biographical Dictionary of Speech Education. Braden seconded. The motion passed.

Hance, *vice* Thonssen, submitted the report of the *ad hoc* Committee on Liaison with NCTE, incorporating the following recommendations:

1. That a joint NCTE-SAA Committee be established;
2. That it consist of four appointed members, two from each of the co-operating organizations;
3. That the tenure of members be four years;
4. That the appointments be staggered to provide for the release of only one committee member each year; and
5. That the chairmanship of the Committee alternate between the co-operating organizations.

Hance moved adoption of the report. Johnson seconded. Motion passed.

Braden moved that the Council empower the President to appoint a standing Committee on Liaison with NCTE. Wallace seconded the motion. Motion passed.

Hitchcock submitted the report of the Committee on Finance, moving approval of the Revised Budget for 1957-1958 and the Tentative Budget for 1958-1959. Robinson seconded. Motion passed.

Laase submitted the report of the Interest Group in Administrative Policies and Practices, stressing the desirability of communicating to members of the Interest Group (and others) the findings of the surveys and studies of members of the group more rapidly than is possible by means of the Association journals. Auer moved that in its meeting the Committee on Publications consider ways and means of communicating findings of the Interest Group more speedily than the publication schedules of the journals permit. Wallace seconded. Motion carried.

Bryan reported for the *ad hoc* Committee on Assistance to Foreign Universities, submitting the request (approved by the Consultation Committee) that the Council approve the Committee's proposal to solicit a subsidy for its "Books Abroad" project from the Carnegie Fund for the Advancement of Teaching. Hahn moved that the Council refer the request to the Executive Vice-President for study and action. Wallace seconded. Motion passed.

Auer raised the question of the Council's action on reports of the Interest Groups, suggesting that unless the Interest Groups had recommendations or requests or required the advice of the Council it should be unnecessary for their chairmen to appear personally before the Council. It was suggested that the new President inquire of Chairmen of Interest Groups whether or not they wished to appear before the Council personally to make their 1958 reports. Clark suggested that the President and the Executive Secretary read carefully all reports of Interest Groups, and, when deemed advisable, request chairmen to appear before the Council, even if the former have not so requested.

Peterson reported that Hazel Abbott, A. Craig Baird, W. M. Parrish, Frank M. Rarig, J. Walter Reeves, Andrew T. Weaver, and Roberta D. Sheets are eligible for Emeritus Membership. It was agreed that the Council should empower the Executive Secretary to add to this list the names of any other members of the Association who meet the requirements for Emeritus Membership.

Crocker submitted a resolution by the Interest Group in Speech for Religious Workers for the approval of the Council:

WHEREAS, ministers employ oral communication in all aspects of their ministry; and

WHEREAS, a mastery of the speech disciplines enhances the minister's character and effectiveness,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we request the American Association of Theological Schools to consider including in its pre-seminary curriculum recommendations a statement such as the following:

> Six hours in speech, which may include public speaking, voice and diction, and/or oral interpretation. It is further suggested that students participate in extracurricular speech activities to the extent that such participation does not interfere with academic studies.

Bryant moved that the Council go on record as follows:

> Although the Speech Association of America is not at present prepared officially to propose specific requirements in speech to professional schools, the Administrative Council looks favorably on the Interest Group in Speech for Religious Workers' advising with the American Association of Theological Schools concerning the pre-seminary curriculum in speech.

Auer seconded. Motion passed.

EXCERPTS FROM MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING

29 August, 1957

President Reid called the meeting to order at 1:01. Renshaw submitted the report of the Convention Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, the Speech Association of America, assembled in convention from August 25 through August 29, 1957, in Boston, Massachusetts, has enjoyed comfortable accommodations, friendly service, and cordial cooperation on the part of the management of the Hotel Statler; and

WHEREAS, the New England Speech Association, the Speech Association of the Eastern States, the Eastern Forensic Association, the New England Theatre Conference, the New England Forensic Conference, the Connecticut Speech and Drama Association, the Connecticut Speech and Hearing Association, the Massachusetts Speech and Hearing Association, and the Convention Bureau of the Boston Chamber of Commerce have performed many functions of hospitality and arrangements; and

WHEREAS, the members of the General Convention Committee, assisted by the Committees on Breakfasts, Lunches, and Dinners, on Hospitality, on Information, on Publicity, on Special Events, on Registration, on Equipment, and on Ushers expended unusual time and energy in fulfilling their special duties; and

WHEREAS, First Vice-President Elise Hahn has coordinated a worthy program under the handicaps of an early convention date; and

WHEREAS, the American Educational Theatre Association, the National Society for the Study of Communication, the American Forensic Association, and other related organizations have again demonstrated a commendable spirit of co-operation in our professional community; and

WHEREAS, the New England Speech Association has honored us by meeting jointly; and

WHEREAS, President Loren Reid has led Association affairs the last year with his customary aplomb and good humor; Kenneth G. Hance, retiring Executive Vice-President, has fulfilled the duties of his office with sensitive concern; Waldo Braden, retiring Executive Secretary, has handled his office with exemplary frugality; Henry L. Mueller, retiring Editor of *The Speech Teacher*, has guided the journal with literary skill and widening appeal; and all the retiring officers have executed their duties with patience and devotion; and

WHEREAS, Harry Caplan and his associates and Cornell University have made possible the publication of the Caplan bibliography as a special number of *Speech Monographs;* and

WHEREAS, the New England weather has cooperated to make the late summer meeting most enjoyable;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Speech Association of America recognize its indebtedness to the aforementioned people and organizations; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Secretary of the Speech Association of America be directed to send copies of this resolution to each person and organization cited and to the institutions represented as an expression of thanks from the Association.

She then moved adoption of the report. The seconding of the motion was almost unanimous. The motion passed.

Reid then acknowledged the splendid work of the various Convention Committees, citing the chairmen by name. He also made special mention of the work of Robert Haakenson and Samuel L. Becker.

Reid then presented the SAA gavel to President-Elect Hahn, who made a brief speech of acceptance and acknowledgment.

EXCERPTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The Speaker, Second Vice-President John Dietrich, called the meeting to order.

The Report of the Temporary Rules Committee was taken up as the next item of business by general consent. The Speaker explained the reasons for establishing the Temporary Rules Committee and stated that the Executive Committee had approved the appointment of the Temporary Rules Committee. O'Brien, as Chairman of the Rules Committee, gave the report and read the Enabling Rule, Rule X. He moved the adoption of the Temporary Rules. The Clerk read the rules one by one, and the Speaker called for comments and questions on each. The motion passed.

The Speaker appointed Eleanor Luse and Coleman Bender as Sergeants-at-Arms and Wofford Gardner, Edd Miller, Sara Lowrey, Elwood Murray, and Melvin R. White as the Tellers Committee.

The Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Robert Jeffrey, reported the following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Assembly recommends that the Executive Secretary cooperate with Interest Groups in recruitment programs for the SAA among persons having a basic interest in the area and who are not presently members of the SAA. Required funds and materials shall be made available to such groups upon presentation of a practical plan of operation and at the discretion of the Executive Secretary.

RESOLVED, By the Legislative Assembly that the Committee on Archives be authorized to designate from time to time such regional depositories as the Committee deems advisable, provided that (1) those institutions desiring such designation apply to the Committee for same, and (2) that official designation by the Committee be contingent upon the applicant's stated willingness to comply with the principle of "SAA direction and jurisdiction" over its functions as an official regional depository of SAA archives.

RESOLVED, By the Legislative Assembly that the office of the Executive Secretary of SAA be designated as the official central repository for SAA archives and that the Executive Secretary be authorized to receive from the Committee on Archives such archival materials as the latter may from time to time acquire for deposit.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Assembly recommends that by amendment of the Association Constitution the Assembly's Temporary Rules Committee be made a standing committee composed of the Speaker, the Parliamentarian, the Clerk, and two other members elected by the Legislative Assembly.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Assembly recommends that by amendment of the Association Constitution the Assembly's Nominating Committee be made a standing committee and one elected by the Assembly.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Assembly recommends that the Executive Secretary of the Association supply these two items in convenient form to members of the Legislative Assembly at or before its first meeting of the annual convention:

1) An official personnel list for the SAA: names of the officers, members of the Administrative Council, members of SAA committees, and officers of the Interest Groups; and for the Legislative Assembly: names of the officers, members of committees, and all delegates, and

2) A list of current proposed amendments to the Association Constitution and By-Laws.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Assembly endorses the principle that members of the Association should, whenever possible, limit themselves to the presentation of a single paper during the programs of a given convention.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Assembly recommends that by amendment of the Association Constitution the Chairman of the Assembly's Resolutions Committee be made a member of the Executive Committee.

The Speaker directed the Clerk to reread Rule V of the Temporary Rules. The Speaker ruled that only members of the Legislative Assembly present at the convention are eligible for consideration for the Nominating Committee. The Speaker ruled that all members present at the Convention are eligible for election, even though their terms expire before their duties on the Committee are completed; he further ruled that in these circumstances the Committee members become ex-officio members of the Assembly until the completion of their duties on the Nominating Committee.

The Chairman of the Tellers Committee, Wofford Gardner, gave the following report:

Elections of Legislative Assembly

Nominating Committee: Martin Anderson, Chm.,

Robert Jeffrey, John Keltner, Magdalene Kramer, Sara Lowrey.

SAA Nominating Committee: Wayne Thompson.

Committee on Committees: LeRoy Cowperthwaite, Frank Davis, Robert Oliver.

Executive Committee, Geographical Areas: West—Wayne C. Eubank; Central—Frederick Haberman; Southern—Claude Shaver; Eastern—David Phillips.

Executive Committee, Interest Groups: Claude Kantner, Margaret Wood.

Byers moved that the interpretation of the Constitution as implied in the proposed Temporary Rules and as illustrated in the conduct of the present meeting be approved by the Executive Committee. Seconded. Passed.

Abernathy moved that the meeting adjourn. Seconded. Passed.

The meeting adjourned at 10:50.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

Proposed Committees for 1958

The name of the chairman of the committee appears first.

Nominating Committee

Carroll C. Arnold, Robert D. Clark, Marie Hochmuth, Elwood Murray, Wayne Thompson.

Advisory Committees

Committee on Committees: Loren Reid, J. Jeffery Auer, Donald C. Bryant, L. LeRoy Cowperthwaite, Frank Davis, John Dietrich, Howard Gilkinson, Kenneth G. Hance, Elise Hahn, Robert Oliver, Owen Peterson, Karl F. Robinson.

Committee on Finance: Orville A. Hitchcock (chairman until 30 June, 1958), Karl R. Wallace (becomes chairman on 1 July, 1958), Waldo Braden (beginning 1 July, 1958), Kenneth G. Hance, Owen Peterson.

Publications: T. Earle Johnson (chairman until 1 January, 1960), John Dietrich (1 year), Leland Griffin (3 years), J. Jeffery Auer, Donald C. Bryant, Howard Gilkinson, Owen Peterson, Karl F. Robinson.

Time and Place: Milton Dickens (1 year), Magdalene Kramer (2 years), Wayne N. Thompson (3 years), Owen Peterson.

Public Relations: N. Edd Miller (1 year), John W. Wright (2 years), J. Jeffery Auer, John Dietrich, Owen Peterson.

Consultation: H. P. Constans, J. Jeffery Auer, Owen Peterson, Loren Reid, Thomas A. Rousse, Lester Thonssen, Karl R. Wallace.

Professional Ethics and Standards: J. Jeffery Auer and one member to be named by each Interest Group.

Co-Ordinating Committees

Committee on Co-operation Between SAA and Other Related Organizations: Elise Hahn and the presidents of AETA, AFA, ASHA, and NSSC.

Committee on Co-operation Between SAA and Regional Associations: J. Jeffery Auer and the presidents of CSSA, SAES, SSA, and PSA.

Service Committees

Contemporary Public Address: Robert C. Jeffrey, John W. Bachman, A. Craig Baird, Milton Dickens, Frederick W. Haberman, Harold F. Harding, N. Edd Miller, Gordon L. Thomas, Ralph Richardson, Eugene E White, Thomas F. Daly (Consultant, *Vital Speeches of the Day*).

International Discussion and Debate: Franklin R. Shirley, Wayne E. Eubank, Mary Louise Gehring, Martin J. Holcomb, James H. McBath, Robert P. Newman, Brooks Quimby. (Consultant from the Institute on International Education to be appointed later.)

Archives: L. LeRoy Cowperthwaite, J. Jeffery Auer, Owen Peterson, Earl W. Wiley.

Recruitment and Supply: Leroy T. Laase, Elton Abernathy, Frederick G. Alexander, Evelyn Konigsberg, Virginia Miller, Wanda B. Mitchell, Waldo Phelps, David C. Phillips, Loren Reid, Hugh F. Seabury.

Intercollegiate Discussion and Debate: Winston L. Brembeck will be the SAA representative until 1 January, 1961. The other members of the committee are representatives of AFA, DSR, PKD, PRP, and TKA.

Study Committees

Problems in Graduate Study: H. P. Constans, Wallace A. Bacon, Oscar G. Brockett, Marie Hochmuth, Claude E. Kantner, Franklin H. Knower, Charles W. Lomas, Wilbert Pronovost.

Problems in Teaching Speech in the Armed Forces: Joseph H. Mahaffey, George F. Batka, Clair R. Henderlider, James H. McBath, Eugene E. Myers.

Project Committees

Volume of Studies of Public Address on the Issue of Anti-Slavery and Disunion, circa 1860: J. Jeffery Auer, A. Craig Baird, Henry L. Ewbank, Sr.

Volume of Studies in the Colonial Period of American Public Address: George V. Bohman, Ernest J. Wrage.

Volume of Studies in Southern Oratory: Waldo Braden, J. Jeffery Auer, Lindsey S. Perkins.

Volume of Studies of the Speaking of the Age of the Great Revolt, 1870-1898: Lindsey S. Perkins, Robert G. Gunderson, Hollis L. White.

Biographical Dictionary of Speech Education: Edyth Renshaw, Douglas Ehninger, Bert Emsley, Giles W. Gray.

COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Credentials: Eleanor M. Luse, Charles L. Balcer, Samuel L. Becker, Kim Giffin, William M. Sattler.

Resolutions: Wofford Gardner, Wayne E. Brockriede, Mary Louise Gehring, Wilbur E. Gilman, Leland M. Griffin, Joseph F. O'Brien.

Ad Hoc COMMITTEES

Assistance to Foreign Universities: Martin Bryan, James W. Abel, Laura Crowell, Leslie R. Kreps, Jeanne E. Miles, Lawrence Mouat, Robert T. Oliver, William Schwab.

Awards: W. Charles Redding, J. Jeffery Auer, Paul D. Bagwell, Waldo W. Braden, James W. Brock, Paul A. Carmack, Rupert L. Cortright, William S. Howell, John W. Keltner, Owen M. Peterson.

Revision of the Constitution: Magdalene Kramer, John Dietrich, Wilbur E. Gilman, Joseph F. O'Brien, Lester Thonssen.

PH.D. '61?
An Editorial

Responsible professionals, from graduate students to deans, will be embarrassed, angered, or, perhaps, stimulated to take stock of their real purposes and their programs of graduate study, by the recent (October) report of the Committee on Policies in Graduate Education of the Association of Graduate Schools. Four deans of prominent graduate schools—Jacques Barzun of Columbia, J. P. Elder of Harvard, A. R. Gordon of Toronto, and M. E. Hobbs of Duke—have made the pages of *Time*, *The New York Times*, *The Herald-Tribune*, and other extra-academic publications with a condemnation of the current Ph.D., extraordinary in its vehemence and vocabulary.

For the popular press, of course, the assault upon the learned degree is "news," especially when launched from the highest places in graduate education into an atmosphere of unchallenged Sputnik. The substance of the complaints is commonplace, though endemic complacency or desperation before the facts justifies the reassertion.

Anyone familiar with the usual doctoral regimen, present and past, does not need to be told that pleasant, docile students often hang around graduate departments much too long, in comfortable propinquity to advanced study and scholarship. In many mass programs, even for the doctor's degree, furthermore, the arithmetical convenience of prescribed routines prevails over independent study individually adapted to the nurture of creative scholar-teachers. In various branches of speech, for instance, have not we in graduate departments latched upon such students as were at hand, ill-prepared and ill-equipped as they might be; and have we not contrived for them general survey routines, "advanced" courses in elementary skills, seminars in "research" gadgetry, and journeyman theses tempered to capacities and truncated to fit the demands of a market dealing chiefly in classes of sophomores and programs in forensics?

What can we do, or what should we do? In that part of the dean's report most slighted in the news, there are sound suggestions, radical only in the stamina which their application requires of graduate faculties. In most graduate departments a good Ph.D. in three years (including dissertation) is possible, might even be normal as the deans demand, given only the excellent students whom they would admit, with the right preparation, well-equipped upon admission with respectable command of three languages including German and English, and with sufficient funds to apply themselves full time to genuine advanced study.

These are the graduate students we would like, except that they might be embarrassing to us. How much less will we settle for, can we afford to settle for? "Faculty members and the graduate office have failed to give hard-headed advice at the right time, have shied away from making their students *work hard enough*, and have generally thought a well-bred air of amateurishness more gentlemanly and becoming than down-to-earth efficiency."

As the demand for "qualified" college teachers gets out of hand, will we in speech be-doctor such students as we can get, or will we admit only those whom we think we ought to be-doctor?

D.C.B.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ROBERT GUNDERSON, *Editor*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S YEAR

Bower Aly

1.

By Act of Congress, by Presidential Proclamation, and by common consent the year 1957 has been dedicated to Alexander Hamilton. If some cavilers have objected that 1957 is not actually the two hundredth anniversary of Hamilton's birth, and if others—doubtless suspecting a dark Republican plot to deify the enemy of the people—have murmured that his anniversary should not be observed at all, they have been overwhelmed by those willing to celebrate Hamilton's birthday any year or every year. Some members of the Congress of the United States in a mellow bi-partisan mood even attempted, during a memorable session on March 4, 1957, to enact an opinion that Hamilton and Jefferson did not really differ: that they were brothers under the skin. Such a notion would have been as shocking to Jefferson as to Hamilton. That Hamilton and Jefferson stood on common ground and shared the great axioms of their time is a fact; that they differed in their perceptions, their prejudices, and their points of view is also a fact. The eyes of their posterity have focused on their differences rather than on their agreements and not with the consequence of seeing Hamilton in a favorable light.

Perhaps no other great American has been so consistently misrepresented and misunderstood as Alexander Hamilton. Even men who should know better have attacked Hamilton for saying, "Your people, sir, is a great beast." With equal indiscretion, those who admire Hamilton have sometimes endeavored to justify a statement that has never been authenticated. The final refuge in such encounters is often, "Well, anyway, it sounds like Hamilton," or the ancient *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, "You can't prove that he didn't say it." All a pious man can offer in rebuttal to the first tactic is the simple denial: In any admissible context, "Your people, sir, is a great beast," does not sound like Hamilton to anyone who knows Hamilton. Of the second tactic the defense can only complain that to affirm an absolute negative to an unsupported charge is a difficult duty indeed. For that matter, no one is likely to establish beyond peradventure that the naughty words in question never passed the lips of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, or Andrew Jackson.

Seldom has a canard gone so far and lived so elegantly. Perhaps it has been nourished from time to time by the offerings of those who have imagined themselves likely to profit from its prosperity. The canard has helped to bring

Mr. Aly (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1941) is Professor of Speech, University of Oregon. Alexander Hamilton: Selections Representing His Life, His Thought, and His Style *(Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1957), edited by Professor Aly, was reviewed in* QJS *for October 1957.*

about one of those amazing paradoxes characteristic of the American psyche. George Washington, whose reliance on the mind and spirit of Alexander Hamilton is known and admitted by all, is revered by those whose most flattering attitude toward Hamilton is one of suspicion. The paradox is not unlike that curious dichotomy in American folkways, the contrast between the mother and the mother-in-law: the mother everywhere sentimentally adored, the mother-in-law—who must also have been a mother—frequently the butt of comic-strip humor.

2.

The endeavors of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission have served in some degree to correct the popular fallacies concerning Hamilton; but persistent error seldom yields to a single year's encounter. In the long run the most effective efforts of the Commission may appear in the continuing influence of the books published during the anniversary year.

It is thus appropriate that one of these books should be a new edition of Hamilton's papers on public credit, commerce, and finance; and it is especially felicitous that the new edition should bear an introduction by J. Harvie Williams, Director of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission. The text of the new edition is the excellent one provided by Samuel McKee, Jr., for the Columbia University Press in 1934. A chronology and an index enhance the value of the book, and the Liberal Arts Press has published the whole in the attractive format of the American Heritage Series. Concerning the need for a new edition of the papers, a reviewer can hardly improve on the statement by Mr. Williams:

> A new edition of Alexander Hamilton's papers on Public Credit, Commerce, and Finance is a major contribution to every generation of students and practitioners of the art of government. . . . Although but a small part of his writings on crucial questions of government and political society, the five papers presented here represent the core of his political thought on the nature and essential policy of government, with particular reference to the constitutional structure of the United States of America. This book, therefore, is about the foundation principles on which the United States was erected and the essential policies on which it has grown to greatness in so short a time.[1]

3.

The *Alexander Hamilton Reader,* a compilation of materials selected and edited by Margaret Esther Hall, Reference Librarian, United States Information Agency, suffered the misfortune to appear just as the works edited by Professor Richard Morris for the Pocket Library and for The Dial Press became available. A few years ago the *Alexander Hamilton Reader* might have been welcomed as a convenient reference to some of Hamilton's works; but it now seems too little and too late. The Patterson address of Nicholas Murray Butler and the Central Park address of Chauncey M. Depew may be found conveniently in the Hall book. Otherwise the student of Hamilton will have little occasion to refer to it.

4.

Of a very different order is *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition,* the notable work by Louis M. Hacker, Dean of the School of General Studies, Columbia University. Not a history, not a biography, not a source-book, the Hacker volume is in a sense unique in being all three; for the liberal quotations from Hamilton indicate a reliance on the Hamilton text, the dependence on the facts of Hamilton's life suggests

[1] *Alexander Hamilton's Papers on Public Credit, Commerce, and Finance,* ed. Samuel McKee, Jr. (New York, 1957), p. vii.

a concern for his biography, and the interpretation of the American tradition makes obvious reference to American history and historiography. Dean Hacker is a brave man: in a single book he takes on Merrill Jensen, Joseph Charles, and Russell Kirk, and he finds each mistaken. He says:

> In part, I am seeking to take issue with [their] positions in this book. It is my contention, here, that not only was the Confederation inadequate but that the Revolution was being perverted: the Constitution saved both the American nation and the Revolution itself. Further, Hamilton united private interest with public policy: without honor, the new nation could not create confidence, and the support of its men of affairs was needed for both stability and progress. Hamilton read the meaning of the capital processes both realistically and imaginatively: Adam Smith was his guide and with Smith he understood that the wealth of a nation and its welfare went hand in hand.[2]

No doubt rejoinders to the Hacker thesis will be forthcoming both from the liberals who have despised Hamilton and from the conservatives who have rejected him. Meanwhile Dean Hacker's reasoned and reasonable case for Hamilton as a great American in a great tradition deserves a hearing by every literate American concerned for the welfare of his country. In an age like that of Hamilton, when Americans live disturbed by troubles at home and dangers abroad, they may yet learn from Alexander Hamilton,

> . . . a complex and fascinating personality: ambitious, restless, resourceful, tenacious; and also devoted, honest, and faithful. In a time of crisis no country dare seek another kind of public servant. This is Hamilton's particular quality and his notable significance in American affairs.[3]

Although Dean Hacker's book gives no formal attention to Hamilton's persuasion, it will repay a perceptive reading by every student of rhetoric interested in the American experience; for the book is an intellectual and spiritual biography providing questions and answers immediately relevant to the story of a "good man speaking well." In this book, as in no other except the works of Hamilton himself, will be found described the essentials of his character, the workings of his mind, and the sources of his *ethos*. Here also will be found an accurate statement of the kinds of problems with which Hamilton's persuasion dealt and a keen analysis of the forces operating upon Hamilton and his audiences. Persuasion occurs in a milieu, among a people; it rests upon undersprings of presumption and loyalty. *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition* never strays far from those elements of the human predicament that must be pondered whenever a people maturely consider the ways in which they are induced to belief and action.

Dean Hacker's book must be commended for its easy, perspicuous, and unpretentious style. Without condescension the book talks to its readers as though both they and what is to be said are important. The book deals with abstractions, with concepts that might easily be lost in a forest of verbiage; yet the central ideas stand out, with appropriate emphasis and with admirable clarity. In the hope that no offense will be taken by the professors of the dismal science, one may justly observe that Dean Hacker does not write like an economist.

5.

So much, alas, cannot be said for Professor Broadus Mitchell, who occasionally does write like an economist. Although his sentence structure is not as difficult as that of Jeremy Bentham, it is sometimes difficult enough to sug-

[2] Louis M. Hacker, *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition* (New York, 1957), p. x.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

gest the special problem of the biographer of Alexander Hamilton, whose style moved with the precision of nervous energy geared to action. To form pedestrian phrases, to send forth unguarded sentences, to construct formless paragraphs was not Hamilton's habit. To write like Hamilton would of course be a false objective; but to write with equal grace, movement, and order would seem to be appropriate. The capital difficulty of Professor Mitchell's prose is to be found not only in the sentence structure but also in the want of topical development, in the lack of the discipline that characterized Hamilton's style.

If Professor Mitchell's book is a disappointment as to style, it is nevertheless a delight as to substance. Apparently no other biographer has examined so thoroughly so many sources as has Professor Mitchell. No other biographer has given so much time, energy, and intelligence in an attempt to discover all that can be learned about Hamilton's life. With apparently indefatigable effort, Professor Mitchell has sought verification of the minutest detail; and with few exceptions he has employed the detail to establish plausible conclusions. His *Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity 1755-1788* is the first of two volumes. If the second volume planned for publication in 1958 meets the standard set by the first, the basic materials for the Hamilton biography will have been brought to a level long hoped for but not heretofore attained. Hamiltonians will be everlastingly grateful to Professor Mitchell, and not the least reason for their gratitude is to be found in the two hundred pages of documentation that conclude this indispensable book.

Since Professor Mitchell has spent many years in his studies of Hamilton, and particularly since he could hardly have begun his studies with a bias toward Hamilton, the conclusions he has reached are impressive. Suffice it to say that, as an economist with, as he says, "leanings to the popular side,"[4] Professor Mitchell explicitly rejects the demonic theory that Hamilton was merely the technician of a privileged class, the attorney for the idle rich, the corrupter of an idyllic agrarian society. In a cogent foreword, Professor Mitchell expresses a sober judgment of Hamilton's contribution to American nationhood:

> Few in American history have been so creative as Alexander Hamilton. His passion was the construction of a well-knit, prosperous nation. He furnished not only purposes, but means for carrying these into effect. He was in many ways foremost in fashioning in this new country a firm, representative republic. His economic insight and skill are not to be separated from his political and legal objects, for each was the vehicle of the other. He was quick to understand that national wealth and well-being consist not merely in material resources, but in social organization. . . . His only client was the whole country. In a crisis of confusion at home and abroad he sought stability and system in which a young nation could mature. He availed himself of those with a property stake in present and future. . . . Hamilton used them for a noble purpose, was not used by them.[5]

6.

Concerning Hamilton, Professor Mitchell sagely observes:

> One of the keen pleasures in following his story is the verve and taste of his language. As others have remarked, paraphrase of Hamilton, though necessary for condensation, is impious, for he chose the right words to put his points.[6]

If Professor Richard B. Morris's *Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation* excels other works on Hamilton in the quality of its style, the rea-

[4] Broadus Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity 1755-1788* (New York, 1957), p. xii.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. ix, xii.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

son is not hard to find: Professor Morris wisely took Alexander Hamilton as his chief collaborator:

> In this book [Hamilton] is permitted to speak for himself, to present his basic ideas in his own words. A man of eloquence, a facile writer, a powerful polemicist, and an unrivalled master at drafting state papers that have endured, Hamilton, through his correspondence, pamphlets, and reports, has left us a fascinating self-portrait. Herein is found Hamilton the man, the lover, the husband and father, the patriot and the statesman, the man who jealously guarded his integrity but stood loyally by his friends.[7]

In his foreword, as in the headnotes to the sections and chapters, Professor Morris amply demonstrates his command of an energetic, straightforward, and communicative English. But even his lively prose finds his collaborator at no disadvantage.

For the scholar, the greatest utility of the work by Professor Morris is found in the validity of the texts and the accuracy of their transcription. Professor Morris has not relied on previous editors but has gone to the Hamilton Papers or to microfilm, both for materials heretofore published and for other materials now published for the first time. The few typographical errors observed in the book should not disturb one's confidence in the integrity of the text: a comparison of random passages will demonstrate the watchful care that must have been employed in the collation and transcription, a care apparently not exercised in previous editions. Until the works of Hamilton appear in the definitive volumes undertaken by the Columbia University Press, the version provided by Morris may be regarded as the most reliable transcription for the Hamilton papers included therein.

For the general reader, the chief value of the Morris-Hamilton book is the wise selection of the materials chosen for publication. Hamilton's ideas are organized under twelve rubrics: The Right of Revolution, Winning the Revolution, Building a New Nation, On Government: Some Guiding Principles, Hamilton at the Federal Convention, The Fight for Ratification, The Principles of Constitutional Government, Economic Program, War and Peace, Liberty and Security, On Leaders and Leadership, and On Life and Death.

In Professor Morris's selection the sure touch of the competent scholar is everywhere discernible—in what is omitted as well as in what is presented to the reader. In a single volume—even one of six hundred pages—Professor Morris had to make difficult decisions. Lodge's Federal Edition of Hamilton runs to twelve sizeable volumes and John C. Hamilton's to seven. Yet in Morris's single volume, with greater force than in the multi-volume editions, emerge the mind and spirit of Alexander Hamilton: his love of country, his belief in liberty, his devotion to duty, his dedication to the principles of constitutional government. Here, surely, if one could have but a single book on Hamilton, is the obvious choice.

7.

The excellences of Professor Morris's *Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation* are to be found also in *The Basic Ideas of Alexander Hamilton*, published in The Pocket Library. This little book contains a substantial part of the material which Professor Morris chose for his larger volume. It includes also the foreword and the headnotes. It lacks an index and the cloth binding of the larger volume. Even so, at 35c it must surely be the greatest bargain obtainable in New York since the Indians

[7] *Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation*, ed. Richard B. Morris (New York, 1957), p. xiii.

put a cut-rate price on Manhattan Island.

8.

Among the books reviewed, certain differences appear. For example, the economists—Hacker and Mitchell—accept 1755 as the year of Hamilton's birth. Morris, admitting with the historian's prudence that the year of Hamilton's birth is not clearly established, is content to set down "*c.* 1755-57." Mitchell, the biographer, deals with incident; Hacker, the interpreter, sets forth relationship; Morris, the historian, presents the documents with a minimum of interpretation. Yet a central tendency rises from the differences. Hamilton is rediscovered. By men of diverse background and purpose, by scholars employing variant means, Hamilton is found to be a patriot, a man of eloquence, a powerful polemicist, the architect of a new nation, a great man, a statesman of the first rank. The central tendency of Hamiltonian scholarship in his anniversary year is thus to restore him to the high esteem in which he was once held, to the standing he enjoyed as the right arm of General Washington, of President Washington.

To anyone of fair spirit and open mind, this development must be welcome. For seldom have Americans been in greater need of the counsel and the example of their founding fathers than they are today. In the midst of grave dangers of a kind undreamed of by their forebears, Americans today may still profit from Hamilton's wisdom, including his admonition that "The liberties of America are an infinite stake. We should not play a desperate game for it, or put it upon the issue of a single cast of the die."[8]

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

BOOKS REVIEWED

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S PAPERS ON PUBLIC CREDIT, COMMERCE AND FINANCE. Edited by Samuel McKee, Jr., with an Introduction by J. Harvie Williams. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957; pp. xiv +304. Cloth $3.50; paper $1.25.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON READER: A COMPILATION OF MATERIALS BY AND COMMENTING ON HAMILTON. Selected and edited by Margaret Esther Hall. New York: Oceana Publications, 1957; pp. 257. Cloth $3.50; paper $1.00.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By Louis M. Hacker. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957; pp. xi+273. $4.75.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON: YOUTH TO MATURITY 1755-1788. By Broadus Mitchell. New York: Macmillan, 1957; pp. xvi+675. $8.75.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NATION. Edited by Richard B. Morris. New York: The Dial Press, 1957; pp. xxi+617. $7.50.

THE BASIC IDEAS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Edited by Richard B. Morris. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1957; pp. xxvii+451. $0.35.

RHETORIC IN GRECO-ROMAN EDUCATION. By Donald Lemen Clark. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957; pp. xiii+285. $4.50.

"This book is about teaching. It is written primarily for teachers." So reads the first line of the Preface to this work. It is "an account of the educational methods used by ancient teachers in the grammar schools and schools of rhetoric" and is a book written for today's teachers of English composition rather than for expert historians, linguists, or theorists. It is not a history of the sort represented by M. L. Clark's *Rhetoric at Rome* (London, 1953).

Professor D. L. Clark has written a primer on rhetorical instruction in Greece and, especially, Rome. Teachers of oral and written communication will find here news they can digest and insight into the tradition of which they are even unwittingly a part. They will be reminded again and again that their teaching problems are neither so nearly unique nor so resistant to rational analysis as they often suppose. They will find hardworking and often wise teachers explaining how they taught at Athens and at Rome, and why. Frequently they will be stimulated and sometimes provoked by the speculations of a wise and gentle teacher of our own time and place, reflecting

on the modern merit of the ancient practices he reports.

Drawing on writers from Isocrates to Erasmus, Professor Clark weaves their observations on the principles and methods of rhetorical education into a seven-part exposition. The value of training for speakers and writers, the ancients' conception of rhetoric, the Roman school system, the precepts of ancient rhetorical theory, the function of imitation in learning to communicate, the traditional "graded" system of elementary rhetorical exercises, and the more advanced system of exercises in declamation constitute the divisions, and the chapter headings, under which the author discusses the experience of the past. An Epilog, containing thoughts on the permanent values in the traditional exercises, a bibliography of standard references in English, and an ample index complete the volume.

Specialists of many sorts will find things to complain of here. Historians of rhetorical theory may, for example, feel that Cicero is made to endorse elegance and embellishment too unreservedly when they compare Clark's translation on p. 87 with the renderings of J. S. Watson or H. Rackham. Other points of translation and interpretation will also be debated by students of classical languages and history. Some teachers will question Professor Clark's "at least qualified approval" of bringing a form of the ancient declamation back into the classroom; and there will be those who object to his suggestion that set exercises in speaking and writing on fables, tales, the chria, the proverb, etc. would improve modern teaching, at least in the early years of study.

Still, it will be a dull teacher of composition or "communication" who does not approach his tasks more thoughtfully and more imaginatively after using *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* as a first reader or review book, according to his need.

CARROLL ARNOLD
Cornell University

ENGLISH POLITICS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (Harvard Historical Monographs XXVIII). By Robert Walcott, Jr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956; pp. viii+291. $3.50.

L. B. Namier's *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929) established a method of investigation based on painstaking accumulation and analysis of biographical details of each member of Parliament: his family background, education, occupation, political connection, and voting record. Richard Pares and A. J. P. Taylor, editors of *Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier* (1956), believe that Namier's work has permanently reshaped the writing of English political history and that the *History of Parliament*, which Namier is helping direct, is the most important cooperative work in progress since the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Except for the revised edition of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* itself, which will probably have been published before this review is printed, Walcott's *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* is the latest work to appear under the Namier aegis, and together with Gerrit P. Judd's *Members of Parliament 1734-1832* (1955), provides students of the eighteenth century House of Commons with considerably more detailed material concerning the audiences the parliamentary speakers faced than they had two years ago. Because caches of hitherto unknown biographical material will undoubtedly continue to turn up from time to time, such investigations as these can never really be complete, but it is doubtful now that new material could alter them much.

From his distillation of data on some 1200 members of Parliament, Walcott arrives at the membership of the various political groups, and by following them through the general election of 1702, he develops a general hypothesis concerning the nature of party politics. He then traces these party groups through the first five years of Anne's reign, tests his hypothesis by analyzing the parliamentary session of 1707-08, and draws his conclusions.

Of special interest is his conclusion concerning homogeneity: "The more one studies the party structure under William and Anne . . . the more it seems to have in common with the structure of politics in the Age of Newcastle as explained to us by Namier." The various elements in the Commons of 1701—the Court party, the family connections, and the independents were similar in size and makeup to those in the Commons during the first ten years of George III. The most important function of the Court and family groups was to form and maintain a government, which in Queen Anne's reign was always founded on the Court segment with its nucleus of regular government members, the chief job of the ministers being to recruit enough strength from the other elements to provide a working majority—precisely the basis on which Lord North formed his government in 1770.

Another of Walcott's important conclusions is that in addition to the traditional set of Whig-Tory coordinates, we need a Court-Country frame of reference to account for a number of members who did not vote consistently Whig or Tory but who did vote consistently either for or against the administration currently in power, a concept useful for explaining certain strategies employed in any given session of Parliament and also for accounting for changes in government.

A number of valuable books dealing with the structure of English politics have been written since G. M. Trevelyan published his Romanes Lecture, *The Two-Party System in English Political History*, in 1926: J. S. Roskell's *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (1954); J. E. Neale's *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1950); and John Brooke's *The Chatham Administration 1766-68* (1956), to name a few recent ones. Walcott's lucid and scholarly work is a worthy addition to the list.

CHARLES DANIEL SMITH
Syracuse University

CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Donald W. Riddle. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957; pp. x+280. $4.50.

Lincoln took his seat in the Thirtieth Congress in December, 1847, with calculated plans for political advancement, and he frankly divulged his ambitions to his law partner, William H. Herndon. He had good reasons for his cockiness. Four terms he had served in the General Assembly of Illinois with distinction, acted as Whig party whip creditably, worked successfully to make Springfield the state capital, helped prodigiously to project an extensive internal improvements program for Illinois, married into an influential family, served as a Presidential elector, and mastered the wiles of the Western political harangue so necessary to political success on the frontier. For a farm lad from Kentucky and Indiana lacking formal education, the record was inspiring.

Dr. Riddle, professor of social sciences at the University of Illinois and head of the Division of Social Sciences in the Chicago undergraduate branch of the University, begins his study with an analysis of Congressman Lincoln's behavior during the Mexican War. He shows how Lincoln introduced resolutions challenging President Polk's administration of the war—step one in Lincoln's planned action for *distinction*. A few weeks later came his speech questioning the President as to the precise ***spot*** where the first blood of the war was shed. Was it on Mexican territory? If so, was it not an aggressive act by one nation against a friendly neighbor?

Clearly, Lincoln had violated the first premise of nationalism so boldly set forth by Stephen Decatur, "Our country, right or wrong!" For a nation holding to the creed of Manifest Destiny, this stand was close to treason. Only a man of Tom Corwin's temper could make sense of it. Young Herndon considered it political suicide, and all Lincoln's logic failed to change his opinion a jot.

Democrats made the most of their opportunity. The resolutions became "Spotty," and "Spot" Lincoln became a term of opprobrium whenever Democrats fraternized or editorialized. The strong Whig Seventh Congressional District which had sent Lincoln to Congress triumphantly, returned a Democrat in the next election. As late as the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, "Spot" Lincoln continued as a shibboleth for the emotionally minded. But the ministrations of time and the developing slavery crisis worked in Lincoln's favor, and in 1854 he again dared to throw his stove-pipe hat into the political circle after almost five years of partial obscurity.

Generally, this is the pattern of the book. An event involving Lincoln during his single term in Congress is portrayed in full colors and the effect of his participation hazarded. The action is pitched in the context of the Mexican war and its aftermath, on the problems arising from Western expansion, and on the constantly intensifying slavery issue. The author digs deeply into the archives for material and comes up with an exhaustive bibliography that may well serve historians and Lincoln biographers in the years to come.

The study reveals a distinct profile of Lincoln, aged thirty-eight. He was inordinately ambitious, just as he had indicated in his first political announcement in 1832. He was a bit sure of himself. He could make mistakes of judgments, however. He could experience defeat and yet not wince. He never complained or felt sorry for himself. He was strangely tolerant of those who disagreed with him. And he was full of the fallacies and tricks of debate. Dr. Riddle's analyses of Lincoln's speeches on the "Spot" resolutions, on internal improvements, on the desirability of electing Zachary Taylor in 1848, all take Lincoln to task for specious reasoning.

Congressman Abraham Lincoln is another valuable addition to Lincolniana. It adds new and revealing information. It interprets the

facts boldly: and any disagreement with the author will probably lie not in the facts but in his interpretation of them. It represents the modern school of biography by seeking to make Lincoln what he was, a man of flesh and blood endowed with great talents but with human weaknesses.

EARL W. WILEY
College of Wooster

REVIVALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA. By Timothy L. Smith. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957; pp. 253. $4.00.

Few can discuss *revivalism*, even its historical manifestations, with complete objectivity. The Modernist-Protestant, often a direct-line descendant of the evangelists, surveys his heritage proudly or suspiciously, with slight nostalgia or deep revulsion. Adherents of the smaller sects, the millennial and Pentecostal bodies, still consider the protracted meeting an integral part of their church programs. Historians often regard outbreaks of religious fervor as quaint, boisterous, bizarre, or bawdy remnants of a backwoods culture, a recurring phenomenon on each succeeding frontier. Nearly all imply that religious enthusiasts of the nineteenth century fought harder to save souls for another world and to confound their denominational rivals than to reform society. Timothy L. Smith's scholarly work challenges successfully many of these views and should stimulate a re-examination of revivalism.

Taking issue with recent historical studies which pronounced the revival dead or at least impotent by 1840, Smith demonstrates that during the ante-bellum years through 1865 religious fervor actually moved to urban centers, where, rather than settling down to otherworldly matters, it became in fact the dynamic spearhead for social reform and closer cooperation between denominations. Revivalism thus asserts its influence with Darwinism, urban discontent, the new psychology, and industrial abuses as a stimulator for the social gospel. This impressively documented volume contains a more sympathetic and, in the opinion of this reviewer, a more accurate picture of the evangels and their contributions than Charles C. Cole's *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860.*

Those schooled in theology or the revivalistic tradition will enjoy this lively, provocative volume. Others may encounter verbal hurdles and find the reading tedious. Terms like "second blessing," "perfect love," "complete sanctification," "holiness," and other revivalistic jargon carry more denotative meanings and emotional connotations than the average reader possesses. Moreover, the author's problem of building a mass of evidence into a completely satisfying stylistic model proved nearly insuperable.

Dr. Smith, quite properly, makes no pretense at rhetorical analysis. Yet he introduces many well-known evangelists and a host of minor figures such as John S. Inskip, Walter C. and Phoebe Palmer, Wilbur Fisk, and Gilbert Haven whose speaking careers might well furnish material for more intensive study. For those interested in Protestant figures during the nineteenth century, anti-slavery agitation, reform movements, and the origins of the social gospel, this volume is essential. The book has a good index and a superior bibliographical essay.

PAUL H. BOASE
Oberlin College

TREATISES ON PREACHING. By Harry Caplan and Henry H. King.

In 1949 when *Italian Treatises on Preaching: A Book List* appeared in *SM* as the first of a series of such bibliographies, Harry Caplan and Henry H. King of Cornell introduced their compilation by expressing the hope that it might stimulate research in a neglected field of literature. During the past eight years they have published additional lists of Latin, French, Spanish, Scandinavian, Dutch, German, and English materials, a wealth of resources which constitute an extremely significant contribution toward the fulfillment of the original, expressed purpose of the series. Scholars from all of the fields of communication will find value in the eight lists, which begin with the year 1500 and extend to the present time.

The focal point of the compilations has been the rhetoric of preaching, but selections have been included to serve the student of the practice as well as the theory of preaching. Included in the treatises are materials on the construction and delivery of sermons, critical and historical studies, and consideration of specialized forms of preaching. Listed articles deal with such varied themes as wit and humor in the pulpit, freedom of speech in preaching, the social aspects of preaching, the pulpit and politics, preaching and advertising, and the preacher's use of literature.

As in any such monumental project, the lists have limitations, most of which are recognized

and acknowledged by the compilers. It is made clear that the bibliographies are not exhaustive. Actually, they are probably as exhaustive as possible within a single generation of scholarship, except for a few peripheral areas. For example, in the English list Caplan and King "thought it convenient to add a few novels, as contributions to history, as it were, and criticism, and also a few poems." As a result of this somewhat arbitrary extension, Sinclair Lewis' *Elmer Gantry* is listed but nothing of Graham Greene's is included among the English works, nor is there reference to Guenter Rutenborn in German, Kaj Munk in Scandinavian, or Gabriel Marcel in French.

The compilers state that they have personally examined only a small proportion of the books and articles, meaning that the lists cannot be regarded as evaluations or even as classifications, except by historical period. Items are listed by centuries, a useful arrangement for historical comparison but somewhat awkward for other purposes, especially since there are no headings indicating the particular century of individual pages, necessitating a considerable amount of leafing back and forth to locate references. This is no serious problem with six of the lists, which occupy from 10 to 30 pages each, but the English list requires almost 160 pages. The scholar making frequent use of these will want to make his own table of contents by centuries and insert page headings.

The lists should eventually be collected in one volume. At present they are available in the following publications:

"Italian treatises on preaching: a book-list," SM, XVI (1949), 243-52.

"Latin tractates on preaching: a book-list," *The Harvard Theological Review*, XLII (1949), 185-206.

"French tractates on preaching: a book-list," *QJS*, XXXVI (1950), 296-325.

"Spanish treatises on preaching: a book-list," *SM*, XVII (1950), 161-70.

"Scandinavian treatises on preaching: a book-list," *SM*, XXI (1954), 1-9.

"Dutch treatises on preaching; a list of books and articles," *SM*, XXI (1954), 235-47.

"Pulpit eloquence: a list of doctrinal and historical studies in English," *SM*, XXII (1955), 1-159.

"Pulpit eloquence: a list of doctrinal and historical studies in German," *SM*, XXIII (1956), 1-106.

J. W. BACHMAN
Union Theological Seminary

LITERATURE AND THE IMAGE OF MAN: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF THE EUROPEAN DRAMA AND NOVEL, 1600-1900. By Leo Lowenthal. Boston: The Beacon Press; 1957; pp. xiv+242. $4.95.

As a sociologist, Mr. Lowenthal wants to know what the great writers of the last three hundred years have to say about the value and the power of the individual. As a liberal democrat, he hopes to find in such writers a humane concern for personal quality linked with a mature awareness of man's responsibility to others and, if possible, a good measure of respect for middle-class attention to business. We shall not do Lowenthal too much injustice if we say that he finds all these good things in Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Goethe, though not in Calderon and Corneille, and emphatically not in Knut Hamsun, of whom Lowenthal has nothing good to report. He interprets Racine as a rebel against "all authority," Molière as a happy and even complacent bourgeois, and Ibsen as an individualist recording the failure of individualism in his time.

The essay is filled with sociological jargon: *societal, hierarchized, structuring and restructuring, personalized, specificities*, and so on. After listing statements about truth, mercy, and "emotionality" in a speech in Cervantes, Lowenthal remarks, "The configuration of these categories constitutes in almost complete form the philosophy of modern idealism—morally as well as epistemologically." (The *Gestalt* term seems dragged in, and the reference to epistemology is little more than window-dressing.) He describes Lope de Vega as a more or less medieval realist and Shakespeare, by contrast, as a nominalist. Yet for Shakespeare, "such names as honor, virtue, fame—although they may temporarily have no phenomena to which they can be related—denote human attributes which can again become part of reality." Doesn't this make Shakespeare a realist?

The longest chapter is given to Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Unfortunately the tools of the sociologist are grotesquely inappropriate here. When we read that the author is going to take up work, learning, language, sleep, and sex in the still-vexed Bermoothes, we are tempted to drown the book deeper than did ever plummet sound. Despite the "non-secular" scholars, Lowenthal sees the play as an attack on decadent feudalism and a brief for "middle-class individualism and industriousness." We get the impression that Prospero is a better duke than Antonio because Prospero is less feudal—indeed, something of an early Whig; actually

he is superior because he has cultivated the Christian virtues. Nor are Gonzalo and the boatswain to be grouped in a middle class anticipating the coming economic man. Gonzalo is a kindly, humorous patrician, and when he says that the boatswain's "complexion is perfect gallows," the remark combines an indirect admission of the man's competence with a joking hint that he will be hanged for resisting authority. Shakespeare could respect excellence wherever he found it, but he was no prophet of bourgeois prowess.

The study of Shakespeare is probably the weakest in the book. The author's approach is more appropriate to the examination of other writers, notably Ibsen. Here the sociologist's training enables him to say some pertinent and interesting things about the men and women of Ibsen. Lowenthal makes the plausible suggestion, for example, that although the women in Ibsen use a less idealistic vocabulary than do the men, the women are the more selfless, for they achieve the altruism of love. Moreover, they "represent the ego-ideal of a structured, realistically grounded existence." Ibsen had not read Freud, but he did have a good, sensible wife.

WILLIAM G. MCCOLLOM
Western Reserve University

OEDIPUS AT THEBES. By Bernard Knox. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957; pp. viii+280. $5.00.

As literary criticism, *Oedipus at Thebes* is by turns brilliant, infuriating, and disappointing. It begins dismayingly with a series of statements that, as critical dicta, seem dubious or unprovable or irrelevant. Oedipus, the Foreword tells us, is a representative figure in whom the essence of the Periclean age is distilled. He is at once a "central reference point" for an understanding of Sophocles's time and "a figure symbolic of Western man." By studying *Oedipus Tyrannus* "in terms of the age which produced it" (whatever that means) we can arrive at its meaning. And its meaning for us is the same as its meaning for the fifth-century Greeks.

After such a foreword we are somewhat reassured by the first chapter, which at least begins with genuine literary criticism. In it Professor Knox convincingly refutes two commonly held fallacies about *Oedipus*—that it is a tragedy of fate and that it is an exemplar of Aristotelian tragedy. Yet even in this chapter something more than criticism creeps in. For instance, Oedipus is sometimes analyzed as though he were a representation of a real person. Or Knox often writes as though one can understand a play only by understanding the age in which it was first written. Or, again, we come on a remark like this: the intellectual progress of Oedipus is "a sort of symbolic history of fifth century rationalism" (pp. 47-48).

Not until the second chapter does one fully understand that Knox is writing something other than pure literary criticism. After a long description of Athens as the *polis tyrannos* this chapter moves to a comparison of Oedipus and Athens itself in which Knox easily proves that all of Oedipus's traits are the same as the traits of the Athenian people. Oedipus, it appears, represents not merely the Athenian people, but also, in the third chapter, "the new critical and inventive spirit" in Greece (p. 116) and finally man—man the conqueror, the inventor, the measurer (p. 150). In short, Knox is writing a kind of cultural history whose aim is to prove that Oedipus is a figure as symbolically potent as Hamlet.

In order to show Oedipus as a "culture hero," Knox works out various parallels between the actions of the play and the scientific, literary, and political activities of fifth-century Greece. When he analyzes the play, he brings a remarkable delicacy and insight to his linguistic analysis; and when he moves out to the numerous analogues he reveals a mature command of Greek thought and literature. But precisely this movement from the play outward leaves one uneasy. For instance, Knox shows that Oedipus uses words frequently used by the scientists of the fifth century. Is it then convincing to conclude that "the language of the play identifies Oedipus as the symbolic representative of the new critical and inventive spirit" (p. 116)? The action of the play can be likened to a legal investigation: is it necessary or valid to call this "a characteristically Athenian process" (p. 78)? Why not Roman or Elizabethan? Oedipus is certainly a *paradeigma* of man: but what tragic hero is not? In other words, how valid is it to take a dramatic device (which is all that Oedipus properly is) out of its context and transform it into a "culture hero"?

Oedipus at Thebes then, is a curious amalgam of history and criticism. As cultural history, it is voluminously documented, ingeniously argued, and interestingly written. As literary criticism, it is so good in places (like the excellent last chapter) that at least one reader was

disappointed whenever it departed from dramatic analysis.

EDWARD PARTRIDGE
Bucknell University

PARIS THEATRE AUDIENCES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. By John Lough. London: Oxford University Press, 1957; pp. vii+293. $7.20.

Theatre differs from other art forms with the requirement of an audience to participate in the theatrical experience. A play for complete expression should be attended by a live audience. Theatre historians and critics always have interest in spectators. It is important to know who attended the theatre, where they sat or stood, and the number that comprised the group. Alongside these facts are placed records of spectator reactions and statements of social and economic status.

Difficulties attend a study of spectators in the theatre. Too often generalizations are formulated with little reference to fact, and these pronouncements, with repetition, become imbedded in our minds. Documentary evidence is frequently sporadic, illusive, contradictory, and sometimes entirely lacking.

Mr. Lough, with a vivid awareness of the pitfalls, has tackled the French theatre of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The French theatre of these significant periods means the theatres in Paris, and for Paris, it means principally the audiences at the Comédie Française.

This study concerns the *Ancien Régime* extending from the early years of the seventeenth century to 1789. The *Régime* readily falls into three theatrical periods. The early period, from 1600 to 1630, concerns spectators at court and at the Hôtel de Bourgogne for plays of Hardy, Mairet, Rotrou, Du Ryer, and others. The middle period, from 1630 to 1715, deals with audiences at rival theatres, the Marais and Hôtel de Bourgogne, and the establishment of the Comédie Française in 1680 with plays of Corneille, Racine and Molière. The final period, from 1715 to 1789, concerns principally the two privileged playhouses, the Comédie Française and the Theâtre Italien, with plays of Marivaux, Voltaire, La Chaussée, Beaumarchais, and others.

With precision and care, Mr. Lough has examined documentary evidence related to spectators. While the study in his own words "falls far short of what has been dreamed of," Mr. Lough has accepted the evidence (or lack of it) for what it reveals and has codified the materials with frank reality. Assumptions and standardized theories are carefully considered and then refined in light of evidence. Several instances will illustrate.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, it is usually thought that audiences at the Hôtel de Bourgogne were almost entirely plebeian. Ordinary taste and low grade of playwriting were credited to lack of aristocratic patronage. Mr. Lough points out that the French court did not reject the theatre, that both men and women at court along with the King saw the same plays as presented to normal Paris audiences, that there was not one set of plays for court spectators and another set for the Bourgogne group. Apparently, court taste was far from elevated and the paucity of good scripts cannot be blamed on the plebs.

The golden age of French theatre (1630-1715) is coupled with court aristocracy, the domination of the French Academy, and the strong hand of Richelieu. While the aristocracy were strongly represented and their influence on plays was dominant, Mr. Lough draws attention to the point that the *parterre* (pit) was peopled with solid bourgeois (merchants, professional men, writers) along with some noblemen. Referred to with contempt by dramatists, a middle-class clientele diluted the ranks although their influence on plays was negligible.

In the eighteenth century, with privileged theatres (Comédie Française and Theâtre Italien) on the decline, particularly from 1760 on, the aristocracy still provided many spectators in these theatres. The rise of a middle-class patronage, however, was evident. The pit was crowded mostly with men of quality and culture. Lawyers, schoolmasters, writers, students stood alongside army officers and now and then a nobleman.

For the theatre historian, Mr. Lough has charts of spectators attending the Comédie Française from 1681 to 1774, which are based on Lancaster's eminent study but are revised in the light of this new study. He also has a competent production listing of Molière's plays at the Comédie. For the critic, Mr. Lough has underscored significant reactions which contributed to the development of the *drame*. With the latter, theatrical focus shifted from Paris to the provinces, where this new type of play had a better reception.

JOHN H. MCDOWELL
The Ohio State University

ON THE ART OF THE THEATRE. By Edward Gordon Craig. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1956; pp. xxiii+296; 7 plates. $4.75.

AMERICAN DRAMA SINCE 1918. By Joseph Wood Krutch. (Revised edition.) New York: George Braziller, 1957; pp. xii+344. $5.00.

ON ACTORS AND THE ART OF ACTING. George Henry Lewes. New York: Grove Press, 1957; pp. 237. Paper, $1.45. Hardbound, $3.50.

Craig's apocalyptic vision of the modern theatre is almost too familiar to bear comment. Here again is that 1905-11 plea for a noble concept of theatre, ecstatic, aristocratic, anti-naturalist, and anti-crowd. And if Craig's murky style is sometimes exasperatingly obscure, his over-all intentions are always clear. This sweeping vision of theatre as the grand synthetic art, a complex metaphor fused out of all the "crafts" of the theatre, continues to exert an inspiring influence on many who must daily bark their shins against its practical problems. Among our important directors and acting teachers, Lee Strasberg employs Craig's terminology, referring always to the "craft of acting" as a part of a larger artistic whole. The first editions of the book had a way of surreptitiously vanishing from library stacks, for the used-book price was well beyond the resources of most theatre students. Now handsomely reproduced with a new selection of seven of Craig's designs and drawings, this important matrix work of our modern theatre is indeed welcome.

Krutch's *American Drama Since 1918*, which first appeared just before the war, has been republished with a short chapter appended to bring his survey up to date. Its subtitle, "an informal history," indicates the general purpose and scope of the work. Professor Krutch's felicitous style is directed not toward the scholarly reader, but toward that upper-middle-class audience which supports the Broadway playhouse. Consequently, he is free to write as he pleases, without reference to a rigid critical framework.

The past forty years of Broadway theatre pass in review before Professor Krutch's gracious eye. His probing evaluations often display a smart insight into his materials, suggesting critical themes for elaboration by more sober classroom critics.

Just as often, Krutch's delightful facility gives the academic mind pause. He reasons, for example, that the great length of O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey* is justified by the effect of solidity which is thereby gained, and further asserts that there is not "even a suggestion of symbolism, bright undergraduates will be structural meandering of O'Neill's autobiography, making the role of Mary Tyrone almost unplayable, would make for a more accurate understanding of the play. As for symbolism, bright undergraduates will be quick to point out O'Neill's use of the gathering fog and the call of the foghorn.

Krutch's book is several notches below Professor Downer's review of the last fifty years of our drama, but the first chapter on the background of the modern American theatre, and the third chapter, skillfully summarizing O'Neill's career, should be splendid collateral reading in drama classes.

Lewes' *On Actors and the Art of Acting* is one of the most important nineteenth-century critiques of acting. In the history of our theatre there have been very few writers who could look at a piece of acting and evaluate their impressions cogently. Riccoboni, Hazlitt, Westland Marston, G. B. Shaw, and Lewes are among the gifted few. And I am inclined to place Lewes above Shaw.

Lewes offers first-hand accounts of acting in the period 1825 to 1875. He analyzes in detail the acting craft of the two Keans, Rachel, Macready, Mathews, Lemaitre, Salvini, and many other theatre artists of that golden age of acting. Also included are critical impressions of visits to the stages of Paris, Germany, and Spain in the sixties, as well as his famous essay on "natural" acting. Directors and student actors will find vivid instruction for their work in these lively observations. And experienced actors may well find themselves wishing that their work were appraised by modern reviewers with such caution as the exacting patience Lewes took to judge fairly. Lewes had seen Salvini play six times. But he apologized for his critical estimate, insisting that what he had to say must be regarded merely as a first impression!

JACK CLAY
University of Miami

THEATRE SCENECRAFT. By Vern Adix. Anchorage, Kentucky: The Children's Theatre Press, 1956; pp. xxii+309. $6.50.

There is much to be grateful for in Professor Adix's well conceived and admirably executed book. *Theatre Scenecraft* will find a solid niche in libraries and personal collections between

the simple handbook for the beginning technician and more advanced manuals for various specialists. Written in clear and direct language, the text is well supported by a prodigality of carefully integrated sketches and photographs rarely seen today in this era of high publishing costs. The result is both handsome and useful.

Calling upon his wide and long experience as a theatre technician and designer, Professor Adix has provided material for a thorough grounding in the basic techniques of scenery construction and painting, stage rigging and shifting, lighting, and scenery planning. Moreover, both the beginning and the experienced scenewright will find many shortcuts and simplified procedures to save time, money, and energy. And the author has also gone beyond the usual treatment of fundamentals in both breadth and depth, including much valuable material not ordinarily presented in books on scenecraft. There are such features as recommendations on the selection of tools and materials, a fine chapter devoted to the nature and psychology of color, a compact summary of major furniture styles, and a remarkably lucid chapter on stage design. From the great wealth of matter which he might have used, the author has exercised careful selectivity and has treated his topics both clearly and thoroughly.

One of the chief virtues of the book lies in its lack of oracular pretensions, in the author's frank recognition that the art of the theatre technician and designer is a constantly changing one which continually presents fresh problems for which solutions must be found. He must be alert for new techniques and new products to help him with situations both old and new rather than relying on tradition and convention. The spirit of the whole is to encourage and stimulate the theatre worker to accept these challenges as opportunities to be seized with enthusiasm and imagination. We should be fortunate indeed to have many more such genuinely creative technicians as this book both reveals and aims to inspire.

Theatre Scenecraft should find a wide and appreciative audience in schools and colleges, community theatres, recreational dramatic groups, children's theatres, and other producing units which must train their own technicians and designers. A thorough grasp of the material included here will go far towards solving both their technical and their artistic problems.

JOHN A. WALKER
Michigan State University

A SWINGER OF BIRCHES: A PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FROST. By Sidney Cox. With an introduction by Robert Frost. New York: New York University Press, 1957; pp. xi+177. $3.75.

The countless friends of Robert Frost—the hundreds who know him personally and the thousands who know him through his great verse—will welcome this "portrait" of the poet. It is written with insight, affection, and intense sincerity by a man of letters whose friendship with the poet covered more than forty years. Apparently it was a rich and many-sided friendship, too, including intellectual and personal comradeship, mutual admiration, and shared experience.

The book is not biography, although one senses the life of the poet whose ideas are being analyzed; it is not literary criticism, although the insights gained will enrich one's understanding of Frost's poetry; and it is not anecdote, although the hints of shared experiences make one wish that now and then these hints had been elaborated. The author, the late Sidney Cox of Dartmouth, has adhered rigidly to his purpose of avoiding biography, criticism, and anecdote, and has attempted instead to explain the essence of Frost's mind and points of view, to illuminate and synthesize all the insights and contradictions and paradoxes which have made Robert Frost an unusual human being and a great poet. In short, as the author says in his preface, his book is "a portrait of the wholeness of a man, . . . the most lively and understanding and coherently constructed man I have known."

The style of the book is terse and succinct. There is no adornment of language and little elaboration or illustration of ideas. At its best the writing has the force of epigram, as in the passage which reads:

> He cherishes no ideal image of what person, bird, or brook should be. He is, therefore, hospitable to discrepancies. He welcomes variations. He continues to look, long after he sees what to call a thing and often finds something to love.

At its worst, the style of the writing is somewhat crabbed and obscure, as in the paragraph which opens Chapter XXIX:

> Correspondence, he said, "is all there is to satisfaction." But he also said: "Keep off each other and keep each other off." We feel the twinge of ambiguity. We are mature beyond the taste for dry wine when we can agree to both.

The book cannot be read rapidly and skimmingly; it requires slow and steady concentration. The author assists the reader to follow the development of the ideas by labeling his brief chapters with topic sentences which form a sequence of ideas, such as the following:

Chapter XXIII. He excites with sight and insight.

Chapter XXIV. Yet he is homely and parochial.

Chapter XXV. His aim is "in singing not to sing."

Chapter XXVI. Keeping tangent always to common sense.

Chapter XXVII. Putting a straightedge on a curve.

On the whole it is a rewarding book because much of the essence of Robert Frost comes through, not only in the many stimulating quotations from Frost's conversations but also in the interpretations furnished by Mr. Cox. Certainly the intellectual honesty of the author, his devotion to a difficult task, his unwillingness to popularize, and his desire to share his understanding of a wise and complex character are patent and impressive. When one finishes the book, it is not difficult to appreciate why the author called Robert Frost "the wisest man, and one of the two deepest and most honest thinkers, I know."

GARFF B. WILSON
University of California, Berkeley

THE MAN IN THE NAME: ESSAYS ON THE EXPERIENCE OF POETRY. By Leonard Unger. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956; pp. xii+249. $4.00.

This book is a collection of seven essays which deal with the interpretation of poets and their works (including a play by Shakespeare). The author's focus is sharply on the text; his aim is clarification. Though he may glance in passing at problems of source, influence, and definition, he does so in an effort to see the text more clearly, to discover its larger meaning.

In an essay on *Henry IV* Mr. Unger points out the "ironical parallelisms" of Hal, Henry, and Falstaff which work to reinforce the thematic structure of the play. At times Hal seems like Falstaff and at times like his father, and in his resemblance to each there is the common element of willful deception which Hal is finally brought to recognize and to reject in what is certainly the central movement of the play—the transformation of the rebellious young prince into the responsible ruler. The author's reading of the play, though perceptive and accurate, seems to overlook the more essential thematic implications of the double plot.

In a skillful explication of Keats' "To Autumn," Mr. Unger shows the achievement of symbol in realistic description and relates the implicit theme of the poem—the interdependence of beauty and melancholy—to other great odes.

In discussing Donne, the author redefines "metaphysical." Asserting that the term is inadequately understood by Ransom, Tate, Eliot, and Brooks, he finds that its major factors are "complexity of attitudes" and "a preoccupation with the unity-disunity problem." His point of view is ably supported by a detailed examination of Donne's "The Good Morrow," "The Canonization," and "Twicknam Garden."

In these chapters, Mr. Unger has incidentally dealt with T. S. Eliot as critic. In the remaining essays, his concern is with Mr. Eliot as poet. The excellent analysis of "Ash Wednesday" will be of considerable interest for the light it throws upon Eliot's use of *The Dark Night of the Soul*, a prose work of the sixteenth-century Spanish mystic St. John of the Cross. In the last essay the author is again concerned with questions of source. He discusses the influence of La Forgue and Conrad on Eliot. Though the presence in Eliot's early poetry of images and rhythms characteristic of La Forgue has frequently been observed, Unger notes their appearance in the late poems and in the plays as well. He develops the assertion that Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness* "has a singular and major relevance to the styles and themes of Eliot's poetry and of his plays and ultimately a relevance to our reading of Eliot's work." It is in this chapter, I think, that the author makes his most substantial contribution.

DAVID LAIRD
Oberlin College

MACHINE TRANSLATION OF LANGUAGES. Edited by William N. Locke and A. Donald Booth. New York: The Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley, 1955; pp. xii+243. $6.00.

Here is the first important collection of scholarly writing on MT, or the problems of translating languages without benefit of men—by machines. Of course, this statement is not quite true because men still have to "program" the processes of the machine and then evaluate its performances.

The fourteen essays include such titles as Warren Weaver's famous paper on translation (written on 15 July 1949 and a landmark in the new science), "Some Methods of Mechanized Translation," "Speech Input," "The Mechanical Determination of Meaning," "Model English," "Idioms," and "Syntax and the Problem of Multiple Meaning." These and the other essays are bound to be of interest to teachers of speech.

There are, we learn from Stuart Dodd, ten rules to follow in preparing English for translation by machines. "Of the ten rules, the three most needed by the machines be that words should have just one order, one meaning, and one form in grammar. Model English can achieve 100% regularity by standardizing: (a) the chief word order, and (b) the chief meaning of each word, and (c) all inflections of grammar by using particles (which be invariant syntax words like *es, er, ed,* and *ing,* for the plural, the acter, the acted on, and the acting respectively)." This is a passage from the chapter which is written in Model English.

What is the future of mechanized translation? If you think MT is just another fad you are mistaken. The demand for ready communication from one language to another is so great that we are bound to see progress even at the expense of meaning in the early stages. The modern applications of electronics make it possible to do in minutes and hours tasks that have taken researchers years and years to do. Concordances, for example, that formerly took the lifetimes of teams of scholars to compile are now possible to complete with the greatest reliability in a remarkably short time.

The essay on "Speech Input" by W. N. Locke, head of the Department of Modern Languages at M.I.T., is especially provocative. We learn that the Intelligent Machines Research Corporation has built a machine that can identify the letters of one or more fonts of type. This is the first step in translating from one printed page to another. The automatic recognition of handwritten symbols and of speech sounds is not yet so far advanced. But Professor Locke estimates that at least $300,000 a year is being spent on the problem. Bell Laboratories has produced AUDREY, the automatic Digit Recognizer "which automatically identifies the numbers 'zero' to 'nine' when spoken by a male voice under suitable conditions of clarity of articulation, noise load, etc. It does not work with children's and women's voices; they are too different from men's. . . . If it could reliably detect ten words of English, we might hope that little AUDREY could gradually learn more and more words, but, for the moment, its recognition vocabularly is about that of some pet."

Professor Locke is not hopeful for any immediate success with the problem of translating human speech by machine. For some years, it would seem, the translators at the UN Assembly are safe in their jobs.

Professor Leon E. Dostert of Georgetown University gives in Chapter 8 the details of the Georgetown-IBM Experiment of translating Russian and English. Much progress has been made since 1954.

On 31 July 1957 the newspapers carried a story about the research of Peter Toma, a physics instructor at California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. Whereas earlier research at Bell Laboratories and the University of London centered on transmitting the spoken word into a machine that recognizes each letter and word and transforms them into figures that go into a computer and are printed by electric typewriters in another language, Toma has taken another approach. He is building an apparatus that tunes itself to an individual's pattern of speech. Then his speech wave motions are fed into an acoustic recognizer. The recognizer compares the waves with basic patterns and determines which one is closest to the incoming wave. The pattern is then expressed by a sequence of numbers which are fed into a huge computer. The computer with its reservoir of commands selects the equivalent or closest equivalent in its dictionary. "Then it translates the word or phrase, depending on the pauses in the speech, and an electric typewriter writes down the translated speech. Later, a speech synthesizer will acoustically present the translated words or phrases."

The above is an account of events to come, not as they are. But do not despair. Machines are here to stay, and as soon as they can receive "good numbers" and plenty of them almost anything is possible. If you don't believe it, read this book and stay around a few years. The problem of passing the qualifying examinations in languages for the doctorate will be so simple the requirement may even be set aside!

H. F. HARDING
The Ohio State University

PROBLEMS AND PRINCIPLES: STUDIES IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE. By David Abercrombie. London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1956; pp. v+97. $1.10.

In the United States a great influx of foreign students has occurred since the end of the second World War. Many teachers of speech and English have turned with marked dedication to the job of helping these visiting students get a start in the use of the English language, particularly in spoken English. As with any new interest group, there is a tendency to feel that *our* teaching is the main channel of endeavor. Americans are prone to have such a feeling because descriptive linguistics in this country has made a substantial contribution toward language learning and also because the Army and Navy, during the war, demonstrated several new features of language teaching.

It is with admiration and surprise, therefore, that the reader of this book discovers that Professor Abercrombie, head of the Department of Phonetics of the University of Edinburgh, knows more about American trends in descriptive linguistics than most American teachers and that he has been at the job of teaching foreign students for twenty-five years. It is, incidentally, gratifying to the teacher of speech to find that he quotes from de Laguna as well as from American linguists.

It should be pointed out at once that this is not a workbook, a syllabus, or a text. It is rather a collection of talks to teachers. The chapter which will probably be of the most immediate interest is the one called "English Accents." Here are recorded facts about the attitude of English people toward different styles of pronunciation which have, before this, remained largely a matter of conjecture. It is often said that an American accent is distasteful to the average British citizen. However, Professor Abercrombie says, "The idea that American, for example, is an unsuitable accent for Standard English is an anachronism, a relic of a peculiarly silly snobbery which is almost extinct in England (where it originated), although it lingers abroad."

The section called "Making Conversation" is also one which will be immediately useful. The author has worked out a method for helping the newcomer to learn to employ the conversational fill-ins which are so much a part of politeness and social grace. His scheme is an ingenious one.

To a teacher about to buy his first recording machine, the chapter called "The Use of Recordings" will be a treasure. The explanation of the difference between disc and tape recordings and the hints for making "formal" and "informal" recordings are carefully set down and excellent in content.

Although Dr. Abercrombie is conversant with the newest American theories concerning language teaching, on several points he takes a stand which is in opposition to the beliefs of one of the main schools of thought in this country. He opposes the idea that the oral language must be taught first to foreign students. His reason is that the process is an artificial one anyway, since the learners are adults, not children. He is not in favor of an overemphasis on perfection of pronunciation for foreign learners. As he puts it, "Most language learners need no more than a comfortably intelligible pronunciation. . . . I believe that pronunciation teaching should have, not a goal which must of necessity be normally an unrealized ideal, but a *limited* purpose which will be completely fulfilled: the attainment of intelligibility."

This thin, paper-covered book, printed in Great Britain, has the advantage of being very inexpensive. Even at several times the cost, it would be a sound investment for the desk of every teacher of English as a second language.

ELIZABETH CARR
University of Hawaii

STUDY OF SOUNDS: ARTICLES CONTRIBUTED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PHONETIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN. Compiled by the Phonetic Society of Japan. Tokyo, 1957; pp. 549.

According to the brief history of the Society (pp. 445-49), this is its eighth publication under the general title, *Study of Sounds*.

Since the body of the book consists of 28 separate articles plus two appendices, a summary of the nature of its contents seems appropriate. Nineteen of the articles are in Japanese by Japanese; the remaining nine, in English by, with one exception, Japanese or American writers. Each Japanese article is summarized in English, except for one in French; each English contribution, in Japanese. In the main, Appendixes I and II are in Japanese. Appendix I is a long, classified bibliography of research studies, lectures, and the like, published or recommended by the Society. Published research studies listed deal with general principles, transcription, experimental and historical phonetics, Japanese dialectology, foreign languages, and phonetic pedagogy. (The reviewer is indebted to Professor Hyman Kublin, Department of History, Brooklyn Col-

lege, for the translation of the key to this bibliography.) Appendix II is a record of the Society's commemorative meeting in 1955. Except for three general articles and one each about Russian, Polish, and Manchu, the contributions are about English or Japanese, or both.

This last indicates a relative uniformity of interest among the contributors, as do some other facts about the content of the articles, but as grouping by nature of content reveals, there is diversity as well as uniformity of interest reflected. Aside from the languages of concern, discussions of the closely related subjects of accent, stress, and intonation make up the largest group. So much concern with this general topic seems significant. True, seven of the eleven articles deal with accent in various Japanese dialects, but there are also discussions of English stress and Russian and English intonation. The editorial grouping of the eight articles on Japanese dialects possibly indicates an intended dialectological survey.

Other groupings show a variety of interests. Six articles, four about English by Japanese, could be classed as historical studies. Two of these relate phonetics and the Japanese and English theatre. Two contributions represent the field of voice science, one on Polish vowels, one comparing Japanese and English articulation. One of the three comparative articles deals with Japanese and English consonant phonemes from the standpoint of the teaching of English to Japanese and is one of four articles in the area of phonemics. Finally, there are also two other articles concerned with the problems of the Japanese student of English.

Because of the nature and scope of its content and because of what it tells directly and indirectly about the study of phonetics and allied subjects in Japan, this book deserves attention.

JAMES W. ABEL
Brooklyn College

BRITISH BROADCASTING: RADIO AND TELEVISION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. By Burton Paulu. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956; pp. xii+457. $6.00.

Great Britain and the United States share a common cultural and political heritage and yet take completely different roads in broadcasting. This fact has always made Great Britain's system second in interest only to our own. Considering this interest, we might say that the kind of comprehensive survey and appraisal of British broadcasting available in this volume has been long overdue. On the other hand, we might also express gratitude that the author waited long enough to permit consideration of a recent basic change in the British system, the introduction of competitive, commercial television.

This book is strong in two ways: in its array of facts about all phases of radio and television in Great Britain and in its evaluation of the kind of broadcasting that results. In both of these areas the effects of the author's year in Great Britain as a Fulbright scholar are clearly evident. He speaks with the kind of authority that can come only from actual presence on the scene. He has not been content, however, merely to present his own opinions, but has included the reactions of important segments of the British people to their own system. What is said, moreover, can be applied not only to Great Britain but to broadcasting systems in free societies everywhere.

The book begins with a history of the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Independent Television Authority. A consideration of such topics as finance, staff, and technical facilities follows. Major attention is then given to a painstaking analysis and appraisal of programming in both radio and television. The concluding chapters deal with the audience and with external broadcasting. The organization of the book is clear and consistent. In describing its style one might well use words that the author uses to characterize BBC newscasting: "impersonal, sober, and quiet," although occasional anecdotes lighten his sternly factual approach. Among the items of information of particular interest to this reviewer are the report that radio drama still flourishes in England, that the BBC, despite its dedication to uplift, broadcasts better entertainment programs than informational ones, and that British and American tastes in programs are virtually identical notwithstanding the impact of two systems dominated by completely different philosophies.

This is a valuable and much needed book. It deserves a place on the shelf of everyone interested in broadcasting.

EDGAR E. WILLIS
University of Michigan

CERTAIN LANGUAGE SKILLS IN CHILDREN: THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS. By Mildred C. Templin. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957; pp. xviii+183. $4.00.

Miss Templin's study illustrates a receptivity to new ideas on the part of speech therapists. Even as recently as 1940, they were assuring each other that children of kindergarten age could not be expected to master all the sounds of our language and that even the end of their first school year was a dubious terminal date for learning them. Miss Templin shows that mastery by the age of eight is a better expectancy. While "the over-all accuracy of speech sounds by the three-year-old is approximately fifty percent that of the eight-year-olds, it is not until the age of eight that ninety-five percent accuracy is attained." She has done therapists a service in making this fact available to parents, classroom teachers, and administrators.

Also valuable is the section that shows the ages of greatest increment in discrimination of speech sounds. Forty percent of the increment occurs between three and five years, only ten percent between five and eight. It may be a surprise to learn that the three-year-old is two-thirds as grammatically accurate as the eight-year-old.

Sex differences in the learning of speech sounds are shown to be not so great as usually believed. Girls obtain the greater proportion of high scores in each area of the test, except that of recognition vocabulary. "It may be that the test used to measure recognition vocabulary . . . is comparable to a range of information test." The author ventures to surmise that the difference in language ability of the two sexes may have become less pronounced "in keeping with the shift toward a single standard in child care and training in the last few decades."

The study shows that the children of the higher socio-economic groups, having generally higher intelligence scores, also have higher performance scores on these tests.

As in any study of the complexity of this one, areas are discovered where further research needs to be done. Miss Templin indicates directions in which these investigations should be pointed. The encouraging fact is that she has provided a firm base for such research.

DOROTHY KESTER
Akron Public Schools

YOUR CHILD'S SPEECH. By Flora Rheta Schreiber. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956; pp. 256. $3.50.

This book, as its title suggests, is aimed directly at parents, and most of the shots are squarely in the round bullseye. The author has excellent ammunition as well, based on research which is never obtrusive and upon a wealth of observation which rings true to the mark. Books like this are written with two motives: to help parents follow the fascinating development of the most significant of all childhood behaviors and to prevent speech defects by providing the necessary information concerning normal and abnormal speech at each age level.

The approach is exhortative. Parents are told, commanded, and urged on each page to notice this or do that, a style which made this reviewer at least feel both peppered and peppery. On the other hand, the book is written in simple and vivid language quite appropriate to the comprehension needs of the intelligent and educated parent. Each basic unit of information is given an illustration, usually couched in terms of a specific child's behavior. This is another "Johnny" book, telling how Johnny learned to talk or why Barbara did not.

Part I stresses the responsibility of parents for providing good models for the developing child and for creating the conditions which are conducive to optimal speech development. Part II describes the speech and other behavior for each age level of the first five years. The author wisely stresses the range of maturing communication skills at each of these levels and calls attention to the environmental influences which may retard or ward the acquisition of speech. Part III deals with the child who develops slowly but normally, the child with a speech defect, and the gifted child. The author's treatment of the gifted child is particularly excellent.

General impression: accurate information simply presented; a good book for parents who want to know how some children learn to talk normally and why others do not.

C. VAN RIPER
Western Michigan University

SPEECH DISORDERS, PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF THERAPY. By Mildred F. Berry and Jon Eisenson. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956; pp. 573. $6.75.

Just as the authors' book a decade ago filled an important need for a text that compiled without bias the pertinent and relevant material about the "defective in speech," so will their new publication be a most valuable contribution to teaching libraries. While the new text reprints some of the useful exercise ma-

terial, the two books otherwise show little resemblance to each other. By design, *Speech Disorders* is a new book and not a revision. Like its forerunner, it avoids adherence to any school of thought and it is heavily documented to provide source reference and more extensive reading for advanced students. It presents a "comprehensive and systematized knowledge of the chief disorders of speech" and is readable enough for the beginning professional student but detailed enough to challenge older scholars.

The first three chapters deal easily with the nature and development of speech and with correlated factors. Errors of young children are wisely included at this point, thus implying the normal nature of these deviations. There follows in Chapter Four the much more difficult neurological explanation of the speech process, making the student then ready to study speech variations resulting from a retarded onset or development. Chapter Seven then deals with the therapy for delayed speech, and Chapter Eight with the treatment of articulation problems of older children and adults. The following two chapters on voice disorders are, in this reviewer's opinion, the most noteworthy of the text. Not only is the treatment of this illusive subject rational and well-supported as to etiological factors, but it makes sense therapeutically.

Three chapters are devoted to stuttering, with the material clearly and wisely organized first with an explanation of the many points of view on the cause and nature of stuttering, followed by a discussion of therapy for young and primary stutterers with the third of the trilogy a treatment of the advanced stuttering syndrome. The chapter on speech rehabilitation in cleft palate is an excellent example of the red-thread of emphasis throughout the book on the total rehabilitation of the affected person rather than upon cold and calculating definitions of disorders, per se. The same warmth in the application of scientific evidence is felt in the following chapters on cerebral palsy, aphasia (three chapters), and hearing.

The appendix is large and very helpful, having first a section of supplementary anatomical, physiological, and neurological description and then inventories, tests, scales, and case history forms. The entire book is extremely valuable and understandable and is hereby highly recommended.

LESTER L. HALE
University of Florida

SPEECH CORRECTION IN THE SCHOOLS. By Jon Eisenson and Mardel Ogilvie. New York: Macmillan, 1957; pp. 294. $4.25.

This book is primarily a textbook for the classroom teacher, although the public-school therapist will find the various chapters particularly helpful in planning in-service training meetings.

Fourteen chapters compose the book, with eight devoted to definition, diagnosis, and treatment of speech problems. The introductory chapters are "Speech Education for the Speech Handicapped and Normal Speaking Child," "Classification and Incidence of Speech Defects," "Standards of Speech in the Classroom," and "Development of Language in Children." The last two chapters are "The Teacher as a Speaker" and "Speech Correction Services."

This reviewer would have liked the organization of the book better if much of the last chapter, "Speech Correction Services," had been placed at the beginning of the book in order to emphasize the role of the classroom teacher in the total speech correction program. The authors give several qualifications of the ideal classroom teacher of the speech-handicapped child: (1) he must be able to develop classroom atmosphere where oral communication will grow, (2) his own speech and voice must be worthy of imitation, (3) he must have a good ear for hearing sound differences, (4) he must know how to produce the vowels and consonants, (5) he must know how to pick out the pupils who have speech problems, (6) he must be able to cooperate with the speech therapist in working with speech-handicapped children, and (7) he must have the ability to plan and conduct a program of speech improvement for all children. For the most part, the authors meet their objectives in this textbook.

Speech improvement activities have been integrated in the discussion of speech problems with frequent references to stories which may be used to teach specific sounds by ear training. The authors describe specific speech techniques to help the classroom teacher understand the work of the speech therapist, but it is not always clear to this reviewer which functions are intended for the teacher and which for the therapist only. Eisenson and Ogilvie do not present so many scientific techniques as do authors of similar textbooks. It is the feeling of this reviewer that the classroom teacher needs to limit his "speech therapy" to ear-training, stimulus-response tech-

niques, and speech improvement activities.

Many excellent references and exercises appear at the end of each chapter. Such aids enhance the value of the book as a possible text. This reviewer is favorably impressed by the Eisenson and Ogilvie text and would recommend it for serious consideration by those who are choosing a textbook for prospective classroom teachers.

RUTH BECKEY IRWIN
The Ohio State University

BASIC VOICE TRAINING FOR SPEECH. By Elise Hahn, Charles W. Lomas, Donald Hargis, and Daniel Vandraegen. (Second edition.) New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957; pp. 253. $4.75.

The revised edition of *Basic Voice Training for Speech* is perhaps explained best in the Preface when the authors say that it "retains the same focus which characterized the first edition. It is student centered; it integrates theory with practice; it stresses the importance of listening as a prime factor in personal improvement; it contends that basic voice training is equally important to students interested in public speaking, interpretation, acting, or speech correction. In fact, the revision has been designed to intensify the emphasis of the first edition on these basic concepts. Most of the chapters have been extensively re-written in terms of our experience with the book and on the advice of others who have used it. . . . Information on the physics of sound, formerly in the chapter, 'How Sound is Produced in Speech,' has been transferred to the appropriate sections of chapters on breathing, tone production, and resonation. The chapter on integration of vocal skills has been moved to the end of the book in order to include articulation as one of the skills to be developed."

One of the most important features of this book is the sensible emphasis which the authors have placed on critical listening and self-analysis. These two concepts are stressed in each chapter as necessary steps for improving any phase of voice production and articulation.

The chapters which are concerned with actual voice production never become so technical that the beginning student becomes bogged down in terminology. The three chapters dealing with articulation and explanations of sounds are handled in a standard way, and no competent phonetician could take issue with the approach. However, such terminology as "standard" and "sub-standard" seems to be dying out in the mid-twentieth century in favor of "socially acceptable" and "socially non-acceptable" pronunciations.

Much of the art work has been improved by re-drawing.

This book will be useful to all concerned with basic voice and speech training.

JOHNNYE AKIN
University of Denver

THE ART OF PERSUASION. By Wayne C. Minnick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957; pp. viii+295. $4.00.

This book raises once again the question, "How much of a psychologist ought a rhetorician to be?" It makes perhaps the most extensive use thus far of the concepts and terminology of field theory psychology. The end product is satisfactory. It is the method which may prove disturbing to the critical reader. In his preface, the author indicates that much of the material is hypothesis; that an attempt has been made, not always successfully, to avoid dogmatism. With this lack of success it is easy to agree. Many of the principles advanced are obviously conclusions, not hypotheses. There is an Aristotelian flavor to the arbitrary generalizing about human conduct. The method of the *Rhetoric* is baldly intuitive. So, apparently, is that of *The Art of Persuasion*. If so, the flavor of psychological technique is misleading. If the method of investigation is instead empirical, the reader seems entitled to a more adequate description of method.

If one can overcome this initial reaction and accept the material at face value, he will find a challenging treatment of persuasion. The stated aim is to produce a method usable by all those who seek to modify human conduct. The intellectual level and vocabulary of the book suggest its use by upper division and graduate students. Chapter Two describes a six-step "process of persuasion," which is the organizational pattern for the remainder of the book.

The four chapters on winning belief are the most thorough and effective part of the work. The treatment of organization is equally strong. By contrast, the sections on emotions and audience analysis are disappointingly routine.

Vital Speeches has been well used as a source of supporting material. Many of the exercises will prove stimulating to students. There are no illustrations, but diagrams and schematic presentations, particularly in the chapter on attention, are a definite aid to understanding.

This is a compact, attractive book of typographical excellence. It will be welcomed as a

distinctive addition to the limited number of textbooks now available on the subject of persuasion.

HUBER ELLINGSWORTH
Michigan State University

FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNICATION: AN INTEGRATED APPROACH. By Wayne N. Thompson. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957; pp. x+582. $5.00.

The extensive, penetrating source material contained in this book with its plenteous and serviceable bibliographies prompts the remark, in no meaningless tone of praise, that this is a work which belongs in every library. Bibliographies conclude most of the chapters and embrace references for all areas of communication skills from language usage to the broader concerns of audience analysis and adaptation.

Many books on communication arts are marred by sallies, without clear purpose, into all aspects of oral and written English. The consequent confusion arouses suspicion that the authors hoped to make their work usable for speech classes, English classes, or indefinable courses under a label of general communication. Professor Thompson avoids this confusion with a clear-out purpose and plan in this text designed for the first college course in communication. With reasonably effective integration of written and oral presentation, the author moves from basic problems in the selection of material, sources of ideas, and amplification of topic, into the categories of audience or reader analysis and forms of discourse. He concludes with chapters on the research paper and business and social communication. The final one hundred and nineteen pages, "A Manual of Written Usage," afford a detailed review of grammar and punctuation.

There is one disturbing element in the book. In his enthusiasm to integrate all communication skills, the author occasionally attempts the transition from speaking to writing without distinguishing significant differences between a listener and a reader. For example, Chapter Six, "Analysis of Listener and Reader," only ten pages in length, gives an impression of hasty oversimplification of basic distinctions between the two audiences. Similarly, Chapter Ten considers organization of ideas but with hit-and-run forays into written and oral presentation. I would dispute the statement (p. 69) that "by following six simple directions, the average student, indeed even the poor speaker, can 'get through' a talk." Here the implication is that oral presentation may be dismissed rather lightly, but nowhere in the book does one find written communication so casually handled.

On the whole, however, for the teacher of the basic communication course, I would recommend this book for its consistency and accuracy of purpose and its inclusiveness of material for the expanding field of communication.

EARL CAIN
University of California at Los Angeles

MANAGEMENT-EMPLOYEE COMMUNICATION IN ACTION. By Harold P. Zelko and Harold J. O'Brien. Cleveland: Howard Allen, Inc., 1957; pp. xv+177. $3.50.

Feeling that other publications "have not gone far enough toward offering a total action program . . . nor . . . emphasized sufficiently the heart of the communication problem," Zelko and O'Brien have produced, in succinct style, a "basic text for organizations and individuals who wish to improve and develop communicative ability."

The book is divided into two major units, the communicative program and developing communicative skills. The ratio is roughly one-third to two-thirds respectively. This text is one of the first efforts by speech professionals which reflects an understanding of both the communication climate of industry and the basic rhetorical principles of communication, written and oral. Previous business speech texts have tended to be merely public speaking texts under a different title.

The first part of the book is macroscopic, dealing with the place of communication in modern industry, the communication process itself, and the communication action program. The more microscopic second section deals mainly with oral communication: speaking to groups, personal relations, and conferences and meetings. Chapters on written communication, listening, and reading give the book balance and completeness.

The organization of materials is excellent. For example, at the head of each chapter the topics are outlined in bold print, and useful summaries appear at the end. The style is pithy since the short book is replete with principles. Illustrations are good but scant. Much pertinent research has been omitted and there are some printing errors, but, on the whole, the book fills a much felt need. An accom-

panying syllabus with instructors' guide-outlines should prove most helpful.

DWIGHT L. FRESHLEY
Vanderbilt University

LEADERSHIP AND ROLE EXPECTATIONS. By Ralph M. Stogdill, Ellis L. Scott, and William E. Jaynes. Columbus, Ohio: The Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce and Administration, Ohio State University, 1956; pp. 168. $2.00.

THE MAN BEHIND THE MESSAGE: A STUDY OF SOME PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATORS. By Dayton E. Heckman, Franklin H. Knower, and Paul H. Wagner. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1956; pp. 132. $1.00.

An increasing amount of attention is being focused on the personal characteristics of people occupying leadership positions, particularly in business and industry. In the past few years, several important research projects in this general area have been undertaken at Ohio State University.

Leadership and Role Expectations, one of the monographs in the Leadership Series in Ohio Studies in Personnel, presents in some detail a careful study of leadership role expectations and leadership behavior. Dealing with the relationship between superiors and subordinates at a naval air research and development command, "the authors of this monograph are concerned with an empirical study of the relationship between expectation and performance in the leadership role." Using a comprehensive list of forty-five variables, data were collected on what the leader *does* in his position, what the leader *ought to do*, what the subordinate *does* in his position, and what the subordinate *ought to do*. Thus, the relationship between expectancy of role and performance in role can be shown.

In general, the findings reported in this study are not altogether unexpected ones: for example, that there is a reciprocal influence exerted between superior and subordinate, that subordinates tend to be supportive as well as supplementive of the performance of superiors, that subordinates feel they should have as much authority as superiors, but not so much responsibility. Nevertheless, this study and the others in the Leadership Series offer some valuable data useful in the understanding of the leadership role, the functions of leadership, and the relationship of the leader to his group.

In *The Man Behind the Message*, certain personal characteristics of professional communicators (lawyers, teachers, clergymen, newspapermen, and radio and television announcers) living in Columbus, Ohio, are studied and compared with the personal characteristics of a group of engineers. By interview, data were collected on the cultural background of the communicator, on his personal characteristics, on his relationship with mass media, and on his interest in his government. From the results, the general conclusion most interesting to this reviewer was the lack of a real difference between the professional communicator and the control group of engineers on most items investigated; at the same time, however, there were often great differences among the professional communicators on a variety of the items studied. In other words, as the authors point out, the classification of professional communicator may be meaningful "only as a label for professional competence."

The presentation of *The Man Behind the Message*, unfortunately, often is not clear. In addition to one or two typographical errors at important points in the work, a confusing manner of numbering tables within the text of chapters sometimes makes it difficult to find particular items of information. One would wish that more space had been devoted to explanation, and less to the partial presentation of tabular material.

As a descriptive study of the characteristics of various kinds of professional communicators, however, this is a valuable monograph. The authors have done a very complete and competent job of assembling and analyzing pertinent information on the subjects studied.

N. EDD MILLER
University of Michigan

SPEECH AT WORK. By Audrey M. Bullard and E. Dulce Lindsay. Melbourne: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956; pp. 180. $2.50.

THE ART OF SPEECH. By H. W. Traynor. Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956; pp. 90. $0.50.

Speech at Work attempts to cover most of the areas of speech in a brief compass, so that after about thirty one-hour meetings teacher trainees may have some knowledge of the subject. In so brief a book many aspects necessarily receive inadequate treatment.

The authors, who draw most of their material from English reference works, seem totally unacquainted with American writers in the

field. Consequently, their chapters on public speaking, speech correction, and oral interpretation make no use of some of the most significant contributions of the past forty years. Notwithstanding this limitation, however, the book presents an interesting approach to teaching the fundamentals course to teacher trainees.

The principal emphasis of the book—as might be expected of University of London diplomates such as Misses Bullard and Lindsay—is voice and diction. The treatment given to voice production and to verse speaking is quite adequate and scholarly. Pronunciation, which seldom finds its way into American speech texts, is here given an entire chapter.

In perhaps the weakest section of the book, the authors summarily deal with public speaking in five pages. Apparently through lack of familiarity with the basic principles of this area, they present insufficient and misleading information.

A chapter on style is unenlightening. Its only subject matter is, inexplicably, *style in writing!* Speech style, unaccountably, is never mentioned.

The short chapter on Defects of Speech is, generally, composed of common sense advice. Teachers are advised to refer stutterers to qualified speech correctionists and to attempt the correction of only minor articulatory disorders. Cleft palate speech is discussed for three pages, however, while little of value is said about correcting faulty articulation. Since the text is intended for teacher trainees, it might have been appropriate to have dealt with the development of speech in children.

The Art of Speech has been written for those interested in the Art of Speech examinations conducted by the Australian Music Examinations Board. Believing that "we will never appreciate the beauty of our language until we have trained our voices to enjoy the sweetness of its sounds," the author, like the A.M.E.B., wishes to widen "the correct pronunciation of the King's English."

This book, written in the worst elocutionary tradition, attempts to perpetuate a long-since discredited form of speech education. Breathing exercises are recommended at the beginning of each speech training lesson. Phonetics is treated in two pages. As the first step in preparation for public speaking, the author recommends constant practice in reading aloud. Audience attention is held, he avers, by "flexibility" of the voice and a "full, round tone."

One would have thought that this type of speech instructions had long since disappeared.

A. L. McLeod
State University Teachers College, Fredonia, N. Y.

TELEVISION AND RADIO. By Giraud Chester and Garnet R. Garrison. (Second edition.) New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956; pp. xv+652. $6.50.

The first edition (1950) of this book was widely accepted as thorough and knowledgeable. This "revised and enlarged" edition is certainly one of the really superior works in the area.

Both of the authors have held high-level positions in educational and commercial broadcasting. They know the media intimately; they understand the social, intellectual, and educational implications of radio-TV. There is an authenticity about their writing which students appreciate.

Much of this flavor of realism is introduced through the examples, models, pictures, references to contemporary personalities and programs, and information that must have been edited and corrected up to the last minute before publication. Few similar texts include so many significant samples of successful broadcast programming to illustrate and augment the theoretical explanation. If the pitfalls of sheer imitation can be avoided, this feature of the book is a real advantage.

The work consists of two sections: I. Television and Radio in Society; and II. Television and Radio in the Studio. Hence the book is adaptable to both beginning production and "fundamentals" courses. The overall approach is at once idealistic and sensible.

Ordean G. Ness
The University of Wisconsin

SHOP TALK

RICHARD MURPHY, *Editor*

WRITING IN THE PROFESSION

J. A. Winans used to tell the story about the early days at Cornell when he was trying to get graduate work in speech extended. "You can't do graduate work," said the dean; "you have no literature." So Winans and some of the founders of SAA got busy, and in April, 1915, there appeared volume I, number 1, of *QJS*. Hiding his humility under a bushel—he had in the number an article titled "The Need for Research"—Winans took the journal to the dean with a flourish. "Here," said he, "is our literature."

It was a bold start. Winans went so far as to suggest that a whole master's thesis could be done on the speeches of Brutus and Antony in *Julius Caesar*. Issue 2, in July, carried a 13-page article on "The Hygiene of the Voice Before Debates." In sound counsel, and with a firm scientific basis which to this day has not been contested, the author recommended regular bathing for the debater—"a morning cold sponge or a short cold shower bath." We were off, and members of the profession have been suggesting and exhorting in print ever since. Today there are so many "speech" journals that ST, who has been surveying the scene, is not yet able to report the number. What would the dean say to that, eh?

We began to wonder. By talking to editors and writers, and by much questionnairing, ST is now able to report on the contemporary state of writing in the speech profession. In strict parliamentary fashion, in respect to our interest group in parliamentary procedure, the report is presented for information only, and there is no motion to adopt. Of course it is difficult to keep an objective view on the matter of writing. ST is not deluded by that "Editor" on the masthead above; it is simply an euphemism to get him to peck his fingers to the bone. He usually lines up with the rank and file. When he finally gets off a little piece of some sort, he expects by return mail some such greeting as this from the editor: "MSS gratefully received; tucking it in current issue now at press without any change whatever; this is brilliant stuff; only regret not longer; will send 100 offprints free in special covers; from now on send your articles directly to our printer." It never happens quite that way. One time a *QJS* editor insisted that an article, which had been done in dialogue form, be entirely rewritten, on the grounds it wasn't scholarly in that style. ST replied that Plato had managed it, and wouldn't he be welcome in the *Journal*. You can guess the repartee to this. Anyway, the article was redone, in proper, conventional form, and duly published. A colleague had this experience many years ago. He sent an article to the editor of our estimable journal. Not having heard anything after two years, he made a mild inquiry, and shortly received the original packet, unopened, and without explanation.

So, recognizing that editors have their crotchets, and their lapses, on with the survey. First, as to quantity of articles available. In some areas supply is plentiful, but in others scarce. The situation varies by journals, also. Some ed-

itors report they are hard pressed to find enough articles to get an issue together. John Keltner, writing in *The Gavel* this year (January, p. 26), upon learning that there were plans for another journal in the field of forensics, said:

> One of the major struggles . . . is the finding of articles and materials that are the better representatives of the thinking, research and practice in forensics across the land. We are often hard pressed for *adequate* copy. The question immediately arises as to whether there is a place at this time for the addition of another journal in forensics.

ST has seen confidential correspondence of editors reporting they are having a devil of a time getting the next issue collected.

Second, as to quality. "Many articles received," one editor reports, "are sloppily written, poorly organized, or concerned with trivia, adequate to fill pages of print, but not adequate to meet standards which ought to prevail." This year, *The Theatre Annual*, edited by Blanche A. Corin, made a printed announcement to subscribers:

> As a subscriber you are aware of two things; that we have not increased the *Annual*'s price since its inception with the 1942 issue, and that we have done our utmost to keep to the standard set for the publication by its creator, the late Richard Ceough. The present owner, who is also the editor, is still willing to absorb the yearly deficit but on one condition only—that the material submitted warrants publication. And this condition has not been met this year. We have on hand some worthy articles but not enough to complete *Theatre Annual, 1957*.

The editors of our periodicals can not be quite so independent. Contracts with the printer, their own reputation and sense of responsibility make it almost mandatory that the issue come out approximately on schedule.

The general feeling seems to be, and this is expressed in several of the pieces which conclude this survey, that many articles get published in order to keep the trains running on time. As to the peaks of perfection, all editors say they get some very fine articles, and have no need to apologize for the best of their offerings. In the past few years there has been much discussion of how to encourage excellence in publication. The Rhetoric and Public Address Interest Group argued, at the Boston meeting, the possibility of awards, such as are given for publications of merit in History and Political Science. The proposal was turned down. A basic argument was, let the merit come, then the award. Another was that since members of our profession produce relatively few major publications other than textbooks, it would be difficult to assign awards.

Third, as to purpose. Editors report that much of the writing sent in is a result not of any intensive research or reflection which needs expression, but of incidental desires. One editor reports that he received three rather untidy papers with a note, "Please print all of these as soon as you can; I need a promotion."

Last, as to petty details of manuscript preparation. There are many complaints about MSS messiness. One cynical editor remarked that any article submitted on something better than scrap paper was automatically published. The editor of *PMLA* recently issued a request that articles be submitted in original typescript, not in carbon. An editor confides that he receives many articles in mimeograph. It is a dead giveaway, he says. The article obviously is being peddled to anybody who will have it. Besides, once the stencils are cut, why not run off a few hundred copies extra and call it published? A frequent complaint is that aspiring authors don't bother to follow the particular style sheet of the

publication, and in some instances, don't seem to follow any style sheet at all in the matter of documentation.

During the cogitation on all this, ST has had frequent conference with his next door office-holder, Karl Wallace, editor of *QJS*, 1945-1947, and editor of the SAA volume of scholarly studies, 1954, *History of Speech Education in America*. He was invited to contribute a piece, but said he preferred to talk it over. The thing that impressed him most as editor, Professor Wallace says, was the amenability of authors. They were most agreeable about making major and petty changes, or having someone collaborate when they bogged down. On the question of rewriting, Wallace estimated that, in his experience, about one article in two has to be redone to some extent. It should be explained that he enjoys editing, and will tinker over someone's paragraph for an hour or so without losing his patience. Not all editors are so willing.

At a recent convention there was a symposium of editors. The question arose as to the proportion of articles printed to those submitted. The average seemed to be one in two. One of the editors, at this point, made an appeal for more MSS. ST's author seatmate observed: "What they want is not better articles, but a higher rejection rate, for their own egos."

In order to get something of authority and respectability to conclude this essay, ST invited the immediate past editors of the three SAA journals, and the three editors of the four volumes of studies SAA has sponsored, to give their opinions. The question asked was, "Now that your chores are over, will you give your advice to future contributors and to the world? What do you wish contributors had done less of, more of?" Here are the replies.

Wilbur Samuel Howell, editor of *QJS* 1954-1956, writes:

When I was editor of the *QJS*, I wished for many things: for keen eyes that would detect every typographical error; for quick perceptions that would recognize any grammatical blunder; for constant alertness that would keep my pages free from inaccurate quotations or mistakes in documentation. But above all I wished for a plentiful supply of excellent articles. Excellent articles I had in every one of my issues, and I am proud in having been an instrument for their publication. They were not sufficiently numerous, however, to fill all the pages that an editor has to fill. Thus I had on occasion to go to press with some articles that my associate editors had judged to be poor in quality. The necessity for this kind of expedient will I hope eventually disappear. But it will disappear only when the members of our Association keep their editors supplied with a much greater number of fine articles than the editors had at their disposal in my time.

Henry L. Mueller, who, with the November issue of *The Speech Teacher*, retired as editor, replied:

Along with many others (I suppose), in the past I have often quoted Mary Heaton Vorse: "The art of writing consists of the application of the seat of the pants to the seat of the chair." No one else, I am sure, regrets so often and so keenly having repeated that epigram—not because I have ceased to believe it, but because the few to whom it applies seem to be unaware of it, and the many to whom it does not apply seem to have a pathetic faith that Mrs. Vorse was writing for them alone.

When some one asks me for advice now (I try never to volunteer it), I say that every teacher owes it to his students, to himself, to editors, to potential readers, and particularly to the spruce and aspen forests which provide the raw materials of paper, to learn to distinguish between the creative urge to write and the selfish compulsion to have published. Yielding to the first is probably no worse than comparable indulgence in caffeine, nicotine, or alcohol; succumbing to the second results in a criminal waste of time, ink and paper as culpable as the purposeful setting of a forest fire. It is tragic that counting pages of print is so much easier than measuring merit in teaching. The regrettable tendency to base promotions and increases in salary on numbers of published papers will give administra-

tors a great deal to answer for on Judgment Day.

W. Norwood Brigance was editor of *QJS*, 1942-1944. The first two scholarly volumes sponsored by SAA, *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, he edited by sheer main strength and will power, to show it could be done. He replied:

Every editor wishes that authors would be as concerned with self-improvement as were the inmates of the Pennsylvania State Prison who wrote Bergen Evans' *The Last Word* television program last summer. They wanted advice on how to shorten sentences! An editor's life soon becomes as concerned with sentences as does a prison inmate. He reads a manuscript to assess its worth and at once gets entangled in sentences. Involved ones and invertebrates. Sentences that back in, and sentences that fade without warning around corner after corner. He remembers wistfully that Churchill's majestic periods were launched in sentences that averaged 27 words, and notes ruefully that the author of this manuscript is contemptuous of anything under 50 words. To contributors I would say: Give the editor a break. Write straightaway English, and remember that a sentence over 30 words is long.

Next, I dare to suggest that contributors write English instead of jargon. I used to wonder why scholars who wrote jargon resisted so fiercely having it translated into English. I soon found out. They do not write to communicate to readers, but to demonstrate scholarship to their superiors. If these superiors cannot understand the jargon, all the better, for that's proof of profundity. I had one such define stage fright as "An evaluative disability arising in societal situations wherein speech is the foci of anticipatory energy responses leading to behavioral manifestations of control disintegration." The dean of this person's institution, I am sure, would have recognized the scholastic profundity of such a definition, but uuhappily he never had the chance. The hardhearted editor refused to let the article dim the pages of the *QJS*.

Third, I suggest that contributors ought to be conscious of the exact meaning of the words they use. As Arthur Schopenhauer said, "commonplace authors are never more than half-conscious when they write" and "do not themselves understand the meaning of the words they use." Let me illustrate with one particular, the use of superfluous modifiers: *very* necessary, *most* essential, *definitely* true, *active* consideration, *acute* crisis, *particular* problem. What meanings do these modifiers have? None. Yet they fill the editor's pages until the cost of printing them would unbalance the budget! On becoming an editor I recalled that Lord Palmerston once requested a British ambassador to cull his adjectives "instead of always sending them forth by twos and threes." I remembered Sir Alan Herbert who had offered a prize to the first foreman of a jury who would announce a verdict of *definitely guilty*, and another to the judge who would sentence the prisoner to be hanged by the neck until he was *very definitely dead*. Thus fortified, I adopted an inflexible rule: If an author used only one *very*, etc., per article, I let it stand. If he used two or more, I deleted them all! To the glory of clear English, over two hundred *verys* et al. went down the drain in one issue of the *QJS*, and in three years not one contributor ever protested! If future contributors cannot purge their own cluttering modifiers, I beg them to be as lenient with editors today as contributors were with me in the days of old!

J. Jeffery Auer was editor of *Speech Monographs*, 1954-1956. He is currently editing the SAA volume, *Studies on the Issues of Anti-Slavery and Disunion*, 1858-1861. He replied:

Among the sorrows of the Flesch is the academic author who scorns the idea of using a "readability formula." But the unhappy truth is that many of our professional colleagues have always written according to a formula. It begins with technical and unfamiliar terms, multiplied by long sentences, raised to the nth degree of abstraction, and compounded by the passive voice. In short, it is a formula that calls for leaving everyday English behind when the writer enters his study. And it creates what Samuel Eliot Morison calls "a sort of chain reaction of dulness. Professors who have risen to positions of eminence by writing dull, solid, valuable monographs that nobody reads outside the profession, teach graduate students to write dull, solid, valuable monographs like theirs. . . ." Bernard DeVoto was less kind when he observed that "most scholars appear to write with something between a bath sponge and an axe," and another critic complained of an author that he "sometimes lapses into a footnotational frenzy of Ph. Dimensions."

The charge that much scholarly writing is laden with pompous, profound, and ponderous phrasing is, unhappily, justified, although such writing is not. It should be understood by all who write for our journals that simplification of presentation does not inevitably lead to over-simplification of content, and that involved presentation is not necessarily correlated with involved subject matter or profound thought. Editors realize that directness, simplicity, and economy are qualities hard to develop; circuitousness, obscurity, and prolixity seem to come more easily. But they are driven to believe that any manuscript submitted can automatically be improved by cutting it ten per cent, and that it could start as well—and often better—at about the second sentence of the third paragraph.

One editor of my acquaintance wrote: "I do not lament the lack of polish in manuscripts. In most scholarly articles it would divert attention from the subject matter, but the alternative of polish is not drabness, which likewise distracts the reader. If scholarly manuscripts are clear, direct, sincere, tidy, and well-organized, they are generally satisfactory." These are deceptively modest standards, but their achievement by all research scholars would bring a revolution in the quality of professional writing.

Marie Hochmuth has been advising editors and authors, in a quiet, behind-the-scenes fashion, for a long time. Her main concern has been not to find an excuse for rejecting a manuscript, but ways to strengthen it so it may be put in print. Currently she reads manuscripts as advisory editor for both *QJS* and *Monographs*. She is the editor of *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, Volume III. She replied:

Good writing, like any other art, is the result of aptitude, knowledge, skill, dogged attention to detail—dedication. Only rarely, I suppose, do members of our Association have as a primary aim—writing. We think of ourselves as teachers, speakers, directors, clinicians. Neither in writing nor in any of the arts have the masterpieces usually resulted from requests, invitations, or the promise of financial and professional advancement. It seems apparent that the deficiences in the articles submitted to an editor in our field result sometimes from ineptitude for writing, often from lack of skill, and very often from inattention to detail. Many of us do not write frequently enough to master skill in compression, acquire felicity in expression, or even acquire ordinary skill in accurate documentation. Our writers sometimes consider the matter of revision an affront to the integrity of the author, a delaying tactic preventing immediate publication, rather than as an ordinary device for any dedicated writer aiming to achieve a degree of perfection. Much of our writing is done for secondary reasons, and consequently has the defects of writing done as a not-too-important sideline.

The editors have elucidated. Let the scholars scintillate.

Report on the Journals

A number of requests have been received for information about the state of publishing in speech journals. Here is what ST has been able to gather on journals published by SAA and affiliates, nationally and regionally, and by societies which meet regularly or periodically with SAA in convention. Later issues will carry reports on other speech and related journals.

There is still some question concerning the differing scope of the three SAA journals, and policy may vary from editor to editor. In the main, however, *QJS* attempts to publish scholarly articles in all aspects of speech, with sufficient interest for the general reader in speech. *Monographs* publishes technical papers, reports and digests of research and experimentation, and special bibliographies. The level of both is college and university. *The Speech Teacher* is primarily for the elementary and high school, and pedagogy at any level of interest.

The final matters in the reports below refer to the following: style manual used, whether *The MLA Style Sheet*, *A Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press), or other form; maximum length of article in typescript; circulation of the journal; quantity of MSS submitted, whether plentiful, adequate, or scarce. Most editors replied that their answers to the last query were made on what was actually publishable. All reported scarcities in quantity in some areas, and most of them scarcity in "quality" in nearly all areas.

SAA Journals

QJS. Editor Bryant has sufficiently reported the situation in "The Forum" (XLIII, 71), and in his "Invitation to the Pen" in the last is-

sue. For a peek at his own views, see "What Is Publishable" (XXXVI, 536). MLA; 20 pp.; 3,700; plentiful to scarce, depending on area.

Speech Monographs. Issued quarterly, with occasional special issues. Two of the four issues are given to reports of dissertations completed, work in progress, bibliographies. Editor Howard Gilkinson of Minnesota reports good MSS are increasing in number. MLA; variable; 1,400; adequate.

The Speech Teacher. Issued quarterly. Retiring editor Henry L. Mueller reports special shortages in voice and articulation, and articles dealing with matters pertinent to elementary and high school interests. New editor is Karl F. Robinson, of Northwestern. MLA, 12 pp.; 2,500; adequate.

Journals of Affiliated Societies

The American Educational Theatre Association issues *Educational Theatre Journal* quarterly. Editor James H. Clancy, of San Jose State College, says the aim is to publish "historical, analytical, critical articles on aspects of dramatic literature, theatre production, educational theatre." MLA; 20 pp.; 3,300; adequate.

The American Forensic Association issues *The Register* four times a year. Until recently matters covered were informational in nature, such as a calendar of forensic events and directory of membership. This year articles have been included, and there are plans to expand the magazine and have it printed. At present covers are printed, and the rest mimeographed. Secretary-Treasurer Malcolm O. Sillars of Los Angeles State College reports he hopes this may be accomplished in a year or so. Editor Henry L. Ewbank of Purdue, writing in issue 2 this year, declares the hope that eventually the journal will be "the repository of all the important events and ideas in American forensics." MLA; 10 pp.; 360; scarce.

The American Speech and Hearing Association has published *The Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders* five times a year, and has issued *Monograph Supplements* at irregular intervals. The association is revising its publications, however, and the December issue of *JSHD* will be the last. Gordon E. Peterson, of Michigan, retiring editor, explains the new policy as follows:

> In place of the *JSHD*, the American Speech and Hearing Association is beginning the editing of two journals. One is to be called the *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, and the other is to be called the *Journal of Speech and Hearing Therapy*. Both of these journals are devoted to the general field of experimental phonetics, speech science, and studies and techniques in the areas of speech and hearing disorders. The new editor for the *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research* will be Dorothy Sherman of the State University of Iowa, and the new editor of the *Journal of Speech and Hearing Therapy* will be Mary Huber of Los Angeles State College.
>
> Professor Robert West of Brooklyn College is the present Editor of the Association. According to the plan of our revised editorial structure, the Editor of the Association will be responsible for Monograph Supplements published by the Association.

The Association uses its own style sheets, which are printed in the journals, and are available on request; 20 pp.; 5,000; plentiful.

The National Society for the Study of Communication issues *The Journal of Communication* quarterly. Editor C. Merton Babcock, of Michigan State, says the journal desires "research articles defending a thesis concerning communication or articles defending personal judgments." Issuing a quarterly *Newsletter*, the editor is able to keep his journal free from clutter of extensive news and notes. MLA; 10-12 pp.; 500; adequate.

The NUEA Committee on Discussion and Debate issues two volumes each fall on the current high school debate and discussion topics. Bower Aly, University of Oregon, is editor. The volumes are printed by Artcraft Press and distributed under various covers to forty subscribers, mainly university extension departments and national state debate organizations. Substantive articles on various aspects are used, with several on methods and procedure. Variable; 8,000-10,000.

Regional Journals

Central States Speech Association publishes its *Journal* twice a year. Kim Giffin, University of Kansas, editor, says the journal desires articles in all areas of speech; preference is given to short articles useful to the classroom teacher. MLA; 8 pp.; 600; adequate.

The Speech Association of the Eastern States issues *Today's Speech* quarterly. It is the only journal here reported which has a "popular" format, with articles cast to have general appeal. Editor Robert T. Oliver, of Penn State, says he wants short articles giving "practical help in solving problems, written in personal-

ized, informal, lively style." Chicago; 8 pp.; 3,500; scarce.

The Southern Speech Assocation issues *The Southern Speech Journal* quarterly. Douglas Ehninger, retiring editor, says the journal favors "speech education and articles with 'regional emphasis.'" The new editor is Charles M. Getchell of Mississippi. MLA; 10 pp.; 800; adequate.

The Western Speech Association publishes *Western Speech* quarterly. Editor Donald E. Hargis, of UCLA, says he wants articles "in all areas of speech, including research, pedagogy, and just plain comments." Articles on theatre and radio-television are especially scarce. MLA; 10 pp.; 1,000; scarce.

Happy XLIV ! ! !

ST extends greetings to his readers and reporters, greetings guaranteed to extend through the new year of 1958 and the pages of Volume XLIV.

For the first time in thirty years (with an exception or two when he was under the weather) ST will not be attending an SAA convention during the Christmas holiday; there is no convention (see calendar).

Courtesies in the past year are herewith acknowledged, and future favors of news and notes are hereby solicited. Deadlines are: February 15, August 15, October 15, December 15.

The shop will be closed from December 20 to January 6. Forwarding address: care postmaster, Miami Beach, Florida.

OTHER COVERS. Loren Reid has an article, "Seize Your Audience Gently by the Ears," in the October *NEA Journal*. He gives practical hints for composing and delivering a speech. The *Journal* proudly notes that the author is president of SAA, "an NEA department."

W. M. Parrish's article, "Elocution—A Definition and A Challenge," published in the February issue, has been reprinted complete in *Speech and Drama* for July. The journal is issued by The Society of Teachers of Speech and Drama, in London. Full acknowledgement is given to *QJS* and SAA.

Quote—the weekly digest (XXXIII, 4) carried this from the article by B. C. Limb in *QJS* of February: "Diplomats are grease on the wheels of a Rube Goldbergian machine of disconnected and clashing internat'l mach'y."

John Keltner's "Salary and Employment Policies in Selected Speech Departments in the United States, 1956-1957," selections from which were run in this column in April, has been printed complete in *The Central States Speech Journal*, spring issue.

Arthur M. Coon, whose thoughts on Brainstorming graced this section last issue, has an article, "Brainstorming—A Creative Problem-Solving Technique," in the autumn issue of *The Journal of Communication*. The author, by the way, has left the Creative Education Foundation to become Assistant Professor of Communication Skills at Michigan State University.

Beginning with the Spring Issue, the *AAUP Bulletin* has been also identifying the season with a month. In explaining that "summer means June" the editor says there is a postal regulation requiring some monthly identification. Fortunately the *Bulletin* has been right on schedule recently, but there was a time when it was at least one season behind in issue. This regulation may lead to some rearrangement of the seasons. *ETC.:*, the review of General Semantics, marks its Autumn, 1956, issue as published January, 1957.

Shop Talk Speech Convention Calendar

National

Speech Association of America: 1958: Hilton, Chicago, December 29-31; (1959: Statler, Washington, December 28-30; 1960: The Jefferson, St. Louis, December 28-30).

American Educational Theatre Association: 1958: with SAA in Chicago; (1959: with SAA in Washington; 1960: with Children's Theatre Conference in Denver, August; 1961: with CTC in New York, August).

American Forensic Association: 1958: with SAA in Chicago.

American Speech and Hearing Association: 1958: New York, November 13-15; 1959: Cleveland, November 12-14.

The Committee on Discussion and Debate Materials and Interstate Co-operation, National University Extension Association: with Central States in Chicago, Hotel Sherman, December 27-28 (Change from previously announced meeting in St. Louis).

National Society for the Study of Communication: 1958: with SAA in Chicago.

Regional

Eastern States: Sheraton-McAlpin, New York, April 17-19.

Southern States: Rice Hotel, Houston, March 31-April 4.

Central States: Sherman, Chicago, December 26-28.

RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

American Association for Cleft Palate Rehabilitation: St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, April 24-26.

American Association of University Professors: Cosmopolitan Hotel, Denver, April 25-26.

Delta Sigma Rho National Congress: Michigan State University, East Lansing, April 10-12.

Modern Language Association: New York City, December 27-29, 1958.

National Dramatic Arts Conference—National Thespian Society: Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind., June 16-22.

Tau Kappa Alpha's Golden Jubilee Conference: University of Kentucky, Lexington, April 10-12.

GETTING ON THE PROGRAM. As was briefly noted last issue, there was quite a session of the Legislative Assembly at the Boston convention on the general theme of a few people hogging convention programs, and a resolution was passed that one major appearance a person is enough. In talking with people about all this, we discover there seems to be confusion about how programs get arranged.

Programs now are drawn up by the First Vice President. For the December '58 program, that will be John E. Dietrich. He arranges speakers for several general sessions, and assigns a specific number of section meetings for each interest group. The vice-chairman of each group, in turn, farms out the sections to chairmen. The chairmen actually sign on the participants.

The time schedule for the next program is: January 1, programs and program times assigned to interest groups; April 1, program and rough copy completed; October 1, final copy to the printer. So if you want to be on a program, don't wait until next October. It's quite all right to write to your vice-chairman, or to the section chairman, if you know who that will be. Chances are he will welcome you, if you fit into the plan at all. The main reason why the same old names appear and re-appear on programs is that arrangers know them, and desperately think of them near deadline time.

HAVE PAPER—WILL TOUR. The International Association of Logopedics and Phoniatrics (Founder and Life President of Honour: Emil Froeschels, M.D.) announces its 11th Congress, in London, August 17-22, 1959. Anyone wishing to be on the program should submit his paper by September, 1958, to the Congress Secretary, Peggy Carter, L.C.S.T., 46 Canonbury Square, London, N.1. The invitation reads, "Only one contribution will be accepted from any member of the Congress and this must not have been previously published."

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION—DIVISION OF PROTOCOL. A stop-press wire was received barely in time for inclusion. It was from Judith Sayers, who said she appreciated all the kind notices about international debating in the last issue, but letters were coming in addressed to her as Director, European Department, and David Wodlinger, not she, occupies that position. She should be addressed as Head, United Kingdom and Northern European Division, Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, at Fifth Avenue, New York 21.

Correction made! At the time the item was sent to the printer, Miss Sayers was *acting* head of the European Department and ST, in either courtesy or carelessness, left out the *acting*. He lives in a world of deans, associate deans, assistant deans, assistants to assistant deans, acting deans, and unacting deans. It all becomes confusing. So, of a morning he just touches his cap and says, "Good morning, Dean," to whatever category may be passing on the campus. Up to now it has worked.

INTERNATIONAL DEBATE. A team of debaters from Scottish universities will tour in the East this spring. They are sponsored by SAA and the Institute of International Education. For bookings write to Miss Sayers (see above).

The September *News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education has an article on "Debating: British Style," with pictures of Meirion Lloyd Davies and Gareth Morison Kilby Morgan, the "combined" British team who toured the United States from February to May this year. It was written by Joan Vickery, who, and here we quote verbatim, "is on the staff of the Institute." Davies is Welsh. His favorite jibe at his English companion was: "The Englishman is a self-made man who worships his creator." John Bull's favorite reply was: "The Welsh pray on their knees on Sunday and on their neighbors the rest of the time." The witticisms of our English-Welsh-Scots visitors may seem a bit Joe Millerish in print, but for one reason or another, they usually bring down the house.

The Cambridge University debaters began their American tour in October, with an appearance before the English Speaking Union

in New York. Their last scheduled event is at New York University, December 18. Between opening and closing events they tour Canada and then on to the Pacific coast. At the conclusion of the tour, they will go to the University College of the West Indies. They have been special guests at a number of affairs. In October they were toasted while attending the Rocky Mountain Theatre Conference at Idaho State College. In November they were guests of the Western Speech Association's convention in Santa Barbara. If they hold to their schedule they will be in Iowa City, December 11. Presumably there will be in the audience one Larry Popofsky, a most interested spectator.

Larry Popofsky and Spencer Stokes, American debaters selected to tour Great Britain, will sail on January 18. In New York, they will be briefed by Mr. Robert Morris of the British Embassy, and by Robert Newman, Director of Debate, University of Pittsburgh, B.A., '49, M.A., '52, Oxon.

THE PERVASIVENESS OF SPEECH. Since speech cuts across many fields, one form or another of it appears in all sorts of events. One expects parliamentary procedure exercises at conventions of Future Farmers of America, and discussions and orations at national convocations of B'nai B'rith Youth Organization. But we were not quite prepared for the final event in the selection of Miss America, 1958, at Atlantic City. It turned out to be an old-fashioned impromptu speaking contest. Marilyn Elaine Van Derbur, Miss Colorado, who won the crown, did especially well in the speaking event. Reported the *Denver Post:* "Judges commented that Marilyn's intelligent answers to two questions was another big factor in her favor."

Since the event was covered by radio and TV, it must have been one of the biggest audiences ever to see contestants draw subjects from fish bowls. Seeking to clear up a few matters, and curious about Miss America 1958's background in speaking, we wrote to her mother in Denver, and received a very cordial and informative reply. First of all, she cleared up an inquiry about the questions drawn: The first, the general one, was, "Is it proper for a woman to propose marriage to a man in these modern days?" The second, the specific question was, "What do you consider the greatest invention in history?" Her mother says she recalls Marilyn saying in her high school days that she intended to study public speaking, "first, because it was difficult for her, and second, because she considered it most important to be able to speak well." She said she was sending my letter along to her daughter. Mrs. Francis Van Derbur signs herself, by the way, Gwendolyn Van Derbur.

Shortly after this, along came a letter from Miss America herself. It runs to six pages, written in a very nice, legible hand, on stationery of Plankinton House, Milwaukee. The story of her training in speech, in part, is herewith revealed:

> While attending East High School, in Denver, I took one speech course from Mrs. Kreiner. She is excellent, and I learned a great deal in the course. More valuable than the course, however, and I suppose more valuable than several courses could be, was her work with me in extra-curricular projects. We worked together hours after school, on the Christmas pageant, the senior class play, and commencement exercises. In addition to speaking at commencement, I had the opportunity of talking before school assemblies.
>
> The best preparation I had for the "speaking part" of the Miss America Pageant came from campaigning to be elected to student council at the University of Colorado. Each candidate spoke in every fraternity and sorority, and had to answer the well-thought-out questions that followed. We never knew what the questions were going to be; the situation was very similar to the final competition in Atlantic City.
>
> Opportunities and experiences in speaking have been invaluable to me. As a result of the good fortune of winning a D.A.R. "Good Citizen" award, and of attending Girls State and Girls Nation I was asked to speak before many civic organizations such as the D.A.R. and the American Legion.
>
> I have not yet taken any speech courses in college, although in freshman English we had excellent instruction in speech. When I return to the University of Colorado I want to take courses in speech.
>
> Please do not hesitate to write to me if I can be of any help to you.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> Marilyn Van Derbur

ST was much moved that Miss America would take the time to write. He was especially touched by reference to the speech part of freshman English. The speech strand at Colorado was woven by two distinguished members of our profession, E. W. Harrington, now

Dean of the College, University of South Dakota, and Mack Easton, now Dean of Extension at Colorado, and a third party. Come to think of it, the third party was old ST, himself. Evidently Marilyn and her mother are even as nice as they appear to be on TV.

Davis Lyndon Woods has interrupted his graduate study at Ohio State to do service as an ensign in the Navy, at the Office of Naval Research in Washington. Interested in the attention given to speech in various areas, he has been doing some surveying. He has sent us one report, with permission to print. He suggests calling it "Speech Hailed as College Course":

> "Back to School" was the theme of a special section of the Washington *Post and Times Herald* on Sunday, August 25. The section featured college education and contained columns by thirteen prominent persons, who offered suggestions for college courses for particular careers.
>
> The values of training in the liberal arts, mathematics, and science were naturally given frequent mention. The area accorded most consistent specific recommendation was, perhaps surprisingly—speech.
>
> The Artist, The Coed, The Social Worker, and The Architect were commended to study broadly with drawing, variety, maturity, and learning to deal with people as their major aims, respectively. English, including speaking, was first on the list for The Businessman, and The Newspaperman was urged to begin with "a decent respect for the English language."
>
> The prospective Labor Leader was also directed to be certain to take courses in public speaking. But the greatest emphasis on speech was given by the writers covering programs for The Scientist, The Teacher, The Lawyer, The Doctor, The Engineer, and The Administrator.
>
> "The most glaring lack among the young scientists we hire at the Bureau of Standards is their ability to communicate," according to Allen V. Astin, the Bureau's director.
>
> Walter E. Hager, President of the District of Columbia Teachers College, stresses training in both effective speaking and writing, since both skills are "sadly lacking—even on college faculties."
>
> Attorney F. Joseph Donohue, former District Commissioner, laments:
>
> It is appalling to see among educated men a total inability to express themselves effectively in speech or writing. It doesn't do the rest of us any good, if a man who has acquired much knowledge doesn't know how to communicate it.

The Chief of Medicine and Director of Arthritis Research and Rehabilitation at the George Washington University Hospital, Dr. Thomas McPherson Brown, concurs:

> Above all today's physician must communicate—must pass on to his patients the truths he has learned, and block the untruths and half-truths which cause insecurity and anxiety.

I took a minor course in extemporaneous speaking. I think the professor was lowman on the English department's totem pole. But it turned out to be one of the best courses. It taught me what I knew and didn't know about many topics and got me to read and think about subjects I had never worried about before.

Major General Louis D. Prentiss, USA (Ret.) and now vice president of the American Road Builders Association, has long lamented his lack of communication training during his engineering undergraduate days: "The successful engineer is one who not only can solve problems but who also can convey his findings clearly to the public. The engineer who cannot express himself is lost." This thought is echoed for the prospective Administrator by R. Roy Dunn, President of the Potomac Electric Company:

> Public Speaking is a must. There are good men doing a good job who can't get on their feet and talk. That limits the amount of progress they can make in their careers.

This almost universal agreement on the values of speech training portends a healthy future for the speech curriculum. Finding speech recommended prior to and along with mathematics, and physical and social sciences should also be gratifying to many. These accolades, however, also highlight an ominous warning, for with speech training as prevalent as it now is, at least a few of these "uncommunicative" doctors, engineers, and administrators must have had some speech work. But admitting the presence of errors, a tide certainly appears to be flowing toward increased training in speech and communication.

Appointments

Adelphi College: Earl Harris Nober, assistant professor, speech and hearing; Celia Heller, Mrs. Sara Latham Stelzner, instructors.

Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga.: Mrs. Marlene T. Carruth, instructor in speech and drama.

Black Hills Teachers College, Spearfish, S. D.: Charlotte Forsberg, formerly of Westminster College in Pennsylvania, head of theatre arts department; Billie Dean Watts, instructor and technical director of theatre.

Bowdoin College: Norman T. London, instructor.

Bowling Green State University: Ernest J. Burgi, assistant professor in speech pathology and audiology; Weldon Shierer, instructor at Sandusky branch; William Weidner, instructor at Mansfield branch; Ralph Chesebrough, Mary Garner, Frank Glann, Nancy Godwin, Donald Loughrie, Gary Murray, Margot Shaski, Howard Shine, June Sweede, Richard Wickman, Robert Winter, and Barbara Wood, graduate assistants.

Cornell University: Mrs. Janet R. Price, instructor; F. M. Congdon, William B. Curtis, R. H. Hewitt, J. R. Chase, Warren M. Troust, graduate assistants.

DePauw University: John R. Foxen, formerly of Coe College, assistant professor; James Elrod, formerly of Indiana University.

Elmira College: Bruce Klee, assistant professor of speech and drama.

Evansville College: Paul Grabill, associate professor of English and speech; Sam Smiley, assistant professor and director of theatre.

Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Penna.: Harry Mahnken, instructor in speech and director of plays; Mrs. Harry Mahnken, formerly of Marshall College, lecturer in speech and debate.

Hamline University: John W. Bystrom, formerly of the University of Minnesota.

Idaho State College: Dorvan Breitenfeldt, formerly of the University of Minnesota, speech correction.

Iowa State College: Richard Wilkie, Norman Kaiser, Mrs. Sherry Hoopes, Donald Manson, instructors.

John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio; Austin J. Freeley, formerly of Boston University, associate professor and director of forensics.

Kent State University: Ann E. Palmer, instructor in audiology; Louis Erdman, graduate assistant in theatre.

Manchester College, North Manchester, Ind.: William C. Seifrit, Jr., director of forensics; John Baldwin, director of drama.

Marquette University: William Trotter, formerly of St. Louis University, and Eleanore Kerski, formerly of Vanderbilt, have joined the staff of the speech clinic.

Michigan State University: New appointees with their most recent professional affiliations, are as follows: Bernard F. Engel, Sacramento State College; Arthur M. Coon, Creative Education Foundation; David D. Anderson, General Motors Institute; C. Gratton Kemp, University of Redlands; Jerome B. Landfield, Los Angeles public schools; Martin L. Kornbluth, University of Tennessee; C. Eugene Osborne, Randolph-Macon; Floyd E. Overly, East Carolina State College; William H. Pipes, Wayne State University; Edward Richeson, Jr., Worcester Polytechnic; Lloyd M. Scott, Iowa State College; Geraldine S. Weldon, University of Pittsburgh; Hans Wiebe, University of Wuerzburg, Germany; Gordon Thomas, MSU department of speech; John DeCecco, MSU department of humanities; and Charles Switzer, MSU department of English.

Milwaukee-Downer College: Charles McCallum, special lecturer in speech and drama.

(*To be continued*)

James P. Kavanagh, teacher of English, Speech, and Debate at Binghamton Central High School, Binghamton, New York, for the past twenty-seven years, died suddenly at the age of fifty-three, in Binghamton, August 7, 1957. Mr. Kavanagh was graduated from Ithaca College with the degree B.O.E. in 1927. He was also Bachelor of Science from Cornell University and Master of Arts from New York University. He was twice president of the New York State Speech Association. He gave generously of his time and effort to this organization and is remembered by students and colleagues for his kindness, friendliness, and leadership.

At the 1957 meeting of the New York State Debate Coaches Association, a memorial resolution was passed for Erwin Von Schlicten, who died last year. He was a member of the department of psychology at Union College, and coach of debate. He had served as secretary-treasurer of the association. Professor Von Schlicten was a graduate of Colgate University. He received a master's degree from Syracuse University, and the Ph.D. from Teachers College, Columbia.

On Leave

Edwin Schoell of the University of California, Santa Barbara College, has taken a sabbatical leave of absence for the year. His courses are being taught by Earl Owens. During the spring semester Rollin Quimby will be on sabbatical leave, and his work will be handled by W. Ward Fearnside of the University's Berkeley campus.

Marie Hochmuth and Otto Dieter are taking sabbatical leaves from the University of Illinois the second semester and following summer. Both will go to Europe.

At the University of Nebraska, Clarence Flick has taken a leave of absence on a grant from the Fund of Adult Education for post-doctoral study in television at USC.

James Carlson has a year's leave from Hamline University to study in New York on a Danforth scholarship.

Cecil E. Hinkel is on leave from the University of Connecticut during the first semester to work on a special project in Elizabethan stage curtaining.

During Edward Gilkey's leave from Penn State, Katherine DeBoer is teaching full time.

Arthur Dorlag of Southeast Missouri State College at Cape Girardeau is teaching courses in interpretation at the University of Wisconsin during the 1957-58 academic year.

Elizabeth Webster, instructor in speech at the University of Alabama, has been granted a leave of absence for 1957-58 for advanced graduate work at Columbia University.

E. Ray Skinner of Wayne State University is on leave the first semester.

At the University of Texas, Morizon Law has a leave for the year. Dorothy Clifford replaces him.

At Chicago Teachers College, Christy Shervanian has been granted a two-year leave of absence to complete a Ph.D. degree in speech correction at the University of Pittsburgh.

Thomas McManus, debate coach at Kent State, is on leave this year to do graduate study at Ohio State. His work is being handled by Donald Horace.

Richard Hagopian of the University of California at Berkeley, spent the summer as a fellow at the Huntington Hartford Foundation where he worked on his new novel, *Together With Laughter*, the option on which is held by his publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons. He plans to go on sabbatical leave during the spring semester of 1958.

Katherine M. Norton, who has been absent from the campus at Kent State as a result of an accident in July, 1956, is on leave again this year. She expects to return to the theatre staff in September, 1958.

Donley Fedderson has a leave from Northwestern to work at the Educational Television and Radio Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

RETURNEES. Several of our colleagues have returned to their campuses after sabbaticals spent abroad. Among them is Clair Henderlider, of Western Reserve, who was a University of Maryland overseas faculty member. With his wife, who served as an NBC correspondent, he toured Europe, Asia, and Africa. J. Stanton McLaughlin, Oberlin College, Oliver Nilson, University of Washington, and Arlyn Sinclair, University of Houston, have returned from Europe.

William H. Zucchero, who has been absent on military leave for two years, returned to Kent State this fall to resume his teaching and directing duties in the theatre. Professor Zucchero was married this summer to Miss Nancy Wynn, currently a student in the university.

Eugene R. Wood, chairman, department of drama at Ithaca College, has returned after a year's leave of absence spent in professional theatre and television. Some of his commitments in television continue during this winter. The part of Dr. Mark Robbins, a feature witness in the premiere of "The Verdict is Yours," CBS, has become a running part of the network series. He also plays another doctor in the TV series, "Harbour Master."

John Van Meter, University of Florida, and Harold Obee, Bowling Green State University, have returned after pursuing graduate work. Don Geiger is again at the University of California, Berkeley. He spent a semester and summer in the Middle West; in July he participated in Northwestern's symposium in oral interpretation. Allie Backus, University of Alabama, spent a year's leave in study and writing. James Lynch has returned to the University of Michigan as visiting professor.

Wayland M. Parrish, who retired in June from the University of Florida, (he retired from the University of Illinois in 1955), was induced to return to Florida for the coming year. Grace Pearl Adams has returned to the University of Houston after a year's leave.

John C. Snidecor, University of California,

Santa Barbara College, has returned from his sabbatical leave of last year, during which time he worked with the Navy electronics laboratory at San Diego on the performance of vibromicrophones for voice pick-up in noise, and on a method of evaluating and equating voice levels with the prolonged vowel E.

Promotions

Elmira College: Joseph Golden, associate professor, chairman of the department of speech, and acting chairman of the Division of Fine Arts.

Evansville College: Virgil G. Logan, chairman of the department of English.

Milwaukee-Downer College: David MacArthur, associate professor.

Northern Illinois University: Louis Lerea, after a year's leave of absence as a research associate at the University of Michigan, is now an associate professor.

Pennsylvania State University: William W. Hamilton, associate professor.

San Jose State College: Marie B. Carr, professor; Wallace Murray, professor in charge of teacher training; Theodore J. Balgooyen, associate professor.

South Dakota State College: Carl L. Wilson, associate professor.

University of Connecticut: Walter Adelsberger, Jack Lamb, John Hallauer (Waterbury extension), assistant professors.

University of Illinois, Chicago Undergraduate Division: Wayne N. Thompson, professor.

University of Iowa: Sam Becker, William R. Reardon, associate professors; Robert L. Gregg, Willard Welsh, assistant professors.

University of Maryland: Rudolph E. Pugliese, assistant professor.

University of Washington: W. H. Veatch, professor.

University of Wisconsin: James Cleary, Jerry McNeely, assistant professors.

Wayne State University: Leonard Leone, professor; George L. Hinds, associate professor.

Personals

Everett L. Hunt, *QJS* editor, '27-'29, now Dean Emeritus and Professor of English Literature at Swarthmore, has received the John W. Nason Award, given to those who make a distinctive contribution to the life of the Swarthmore college community. The citation is substantial enough, but with it goes $1,000. Everett's citation reads, in part: "Host, singer, dean, teacher, speaker, author, horseman, and in all of these by deliberate design *amateur*—moved by Athenian reluctance to rule, by British disdain for the pompous, by the saddle-leather friendliness of the Tetons, and by a universal love for all that is human. . . ."

Lyle V. Mayer of the University of Maryland, has resigned to accept the position of dean of the Orange County Community College in Middletown, New York.

George McCarty, Indiana State Teachers College, emeritus '56, who taught at William and Mary last year, is this year on the staff at Coe College.

Mrs. Willilee R. Trumbauer, whose husband, Walter H. Trumbauer, professor of dramatic literature and director of the theatre, retired at Alabama College in June (noted in last issue), is continuing as assistant professor of speech and assistant director of the theatre.

A department romance has culminated at Iowa State. Charlene Owen and Stanley Kahan have been joined in marriage.

Robert Lang, of Western Reserve, has been appointed to the city council of South Euclid, Ohio.

Frederick C. Packard, Jr. of Harvard is on leave for the year. He and his wife Alice are touring the country doing readings from the dramatic poets. They passed through Illinois in early November, headed west.

Roy Humble of Goshen College is on his second year at Pierce College, Athens, Greece. It's a Fulbright.

Robert E. Kent, of Kent State, has resigned to take up practice of law in Ravenna, Ohio.

Almon B. Ives of Dartmouth has been appointed director of an orientation program for freshmen.

R. R. Schesventer of the University of Washington is spending the year with the armed forces entertainment service in Korea.

Matthew L. Rigler, head of the speech clinic at the Chicago Undergraduate Division of the University of Illinois in Chicago, has been appointed supervisor of speech activities for the Chicago Reading and Speech Clinic.

William I. Oliver, instructor in speech and drama at Cornell University, received the Stanley Award for his play, *To Learn to Love*, at the New York City Writers' Conference held at Wagner College. Mr. Oliver's short play, *The Stallion*, appears in the twentieth anniversary edition of Margaret Mayorga's *Best Short Plays*, published by the Beacon Press.

Christian Moe, graduate assistant in drama at Cornell, was awarded second prize in the Samuel French National Intercollegiate Play-

writing Contest for his new play, *Stranger in the Land.*

Conventions and Conferences

The Sixth Annual Convention of The New England Theatre Conference was held on Saturday, October 5, at Northeastern University in Boston. Theme: "A Theatre for Janus; Yesterday and Tomorrow, Today." Sections were held on children's theatre, secondary school theatre, college and university theatre, community theatre, and professional theatre. President Paul R. Barstow, of Wellesley, gave the welcoming address. Coffee and doughnuts were served during the registration period.

The Executive Seminar on Organizational Communications was held at Minnowbrook, rustic retreat of Syracuse University. Frank E. Funk of Purdue was program chairman. Other members of the "faculty" included Earnest S. Brandenburg of Washington University, J. C. Callaghan of Michigan, Harold P. Zelko of Penn State, and Gordon S. Watts, training coordinator of Corning Glass Works. Sessions were held on various aspects of communication, including "upward communications" and "downward communications" and "horizontal communications."

The Seventeenth Annual Conference of Tau Kappa Alpha was held at Butler University, Indianapolis, in April. Nicholas M. Cripe of Butler was director. Sixty-two schools from 31 states attended. Earl Bradley of Denver is president of the society. For the eighth year, speaker-of-the-year awards were made. Recipients: (national affairs) John F. Kennedy; (business) Erwin Canham; (labor) James P. Mitchell; (religion) the Reverend James A. Pike; (education) Eric Sevareid.

The Purdue University Forensic Union was host to the Seventeenth Annual Tau Kappa Alpha Midwest Regional Conference in November. On November 21-23, the Union held its Tenth Annual Invitational Forensic Conference, which was attended by 20 colleges and universities. In December, 1,200 high school students and teachers attended Purdue's twenty-fifth annual High School Debaters Conference and Student Legislative Assembly; the conference has been the recipient of three Freedoms Foundation awards.

The annual conference on communication in business and industry was held at Kent State University in November.

Wayne N. Thompson, president of CSSA, has sent us the following preview of his association's meeting to be held at Christmas holiday:

> The Central States Speech Association, meeting at the Sherman Hotel, Chicago, on December 26, 27, and 28, will be holding the first three-day session in its history. Featured speakers at the general sessions held on successive days will be John Dietrich, the Reverend Harold A Bosley, and Harold Westlake. Mr. Dietrich, vice-president of SAA, will open the conference at 3:00 Thursday afternoon, speaking on "Theatre is Speech." The Reverend Mr. Bosley, once a college national champion in extempore speaking, and now the author of a dozen books, will speak on "Preaching on Controversial Issues." Harold Westlake, the featured speaker on Saturday, will give an address on "Aspects of Speech Correction and Audiology which have Importance for All Teachers of Speech."
>
> Two other features at the general sessions will be the first annual presentation of awards to outstanding young teachers and an exhibition debate on one of the three high school propositions. The debate has been arranged in co-operation with the NUEA Debate and Discussion Committee, which this year is combining its meetings with those of the CSSA.
>
> In addition, approximately thirty sectional meetings in the fields of theatre, communication, research in speech and hearing, college forensics, teaching speech improvement, teaching speech in college, teaching speech in the elementary and secondary schools, oral interpretation, ministerial training, business and professional speaking, research in public address, and high school extracurricular activities, will be held.
>
> As usual, the CSSA will operate a free placement service for the benefit of both employers and applicants. Jack Higgins is arranging an extensive exhibit of photographs of stage settings, and the usual displays of commercial equipment and textbooks will help keep conventioneers up to date.

Editor Bryant, who made a mad dash from the Boston SAA convention to the MLA conclave in Madison, 9-11 September, has submitted the following report:

> Attendance learned and plentiful, but proportionately lower than SAA's late summer venture: 2207 members sought the

shores of Lake Mendota, whereas 4300 went to Washington in 1956 and 3500 to Chicago in 1955.

The circumstances were pleasant, the weather bland, housing in the dormitories of the University of Wisconsin austere and inexpensive, and the meals in the dormitory cafeterias reliable and tasty. Center of activities in the Wisconsin Union would have seemed normal to any inveterate convention-goer. Attendance at meetings varied from crowded to scanty, and in each meeting the ebb and flow of auditors was accelerated between papers.

Your editor attended in various of his capacities, but time-wise chiefly as chairman of a department of English. He was usually established comfortably, therefore, in the plush library of the Union, which was the interviewing room for those seeking positions. In many years of convention-going he had never found more satisfactory and workable arrangements for getting the appointers and the would-be-appointed together.

Speech fared well and ill among the literary scholars. Papers presented by Allan H. Gilbert on "The *Poetics* of Aristotle" and by John Crow of King's College, University of London, on "Deadly Sins of Criticism, Or Seven Ways To Get Shakespeare Wrong" couldn't have been exceeded in their divergent ways. The presidential address by Whitney J. Oates, *"Philosophia Regina,"* needed no "presidential" aura to justify the listening. The editor went to some trouble, on the other hand, hopefully to hear two papers on medieval rhetoric. He found, alas, little more than a learned incomprehension which had disappeared from the rhetorical sessions of the SAA from the first time Hoyt Hudson read a paper.

The atmosphere was friendly and busy, though behind closed doors, no doubt, sufficiently contentious and polemic. Scholarly learning was the norm and literacy stalked unchecked, but the quality of oral presentation was no more satisfying than that one encounters from the professionals in rhetoric and drama.

The talents and capacities of the book publishers for generous entertainment showed normal-to-good. The approach to Bascom Hall was long and steep. The editor understands that Book Review Gunderson was travelling the halls and byways also, but alas in other orbits.

Conclusion: in some ways, two full academic conventions in two weeks make one-and-a-half too many.

Curriculum

The president and trustees of Ohio University at Athens, Ohio, have announced that The School of Dramatic Art and Speech has inaugurated a program of advanced graduate study leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The Speech and Dramatic Art Department and The Speech and Hearing Center of Adelphi College, Garden City, New York, announce the inception of a Master of Science Degree Program in Speech and Hearing Rehabilitation. This program will be an integral part of the Institute of Health, Education, and Welfare at Adelphi College. The Institute is designed to utilize a threefold approach which combines academic preparation, clinical practice, and related research. The distinctive feature of the Institute is its emphasis upon the co-ordination of many relating professions to fulfill its primary purpose of "preparing competent team members to serve the health, education, and welfare needs of individuals and the community through a synthesis of classwork, service, and research."

The Speech and Hearing Clinic at Stanford University, including its course program in speech correction, audiology and the speech sciences, was separated from the Department of Speech and Drama in September, and will be established as the Division of Speech Pathology and Audiology in the Department of Allied Medical Sciences in the School of Medicine. This is primarily an administrative change, and will not affect the present program of the division except to strengthen its relationship to certain aspects of medical training. Degree programs in speech correction and in audiology will continue to be offered at the A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. levels, and a Ph.D. with a concentration in the speech sciences will also be provided. Close cooperation with such departments as Education and Psychology will be continued as at present, including the program for the Special Credential in Speech Correction and Lipreading.

The Speech Department at the University of California, Berkeley, has administrative approval for a number of new courses which are being instituted this year. Professor Leo Low-

enthal will teach a course in Speech and Society, covering a general survey of types of speech and discourse; their effects on inter-personal relations, personality development, and social integration; their influence on development and character of social institutions, mores and belief; and the reciprocal influence of social institutions on speech. Professors Herman Tennessen and Don Geiger will teach a new course in the Theory of Interpretation. Professor tenBroek will teach a new course in Freedom of Speech, which will encompass a critical and historical analysis of the main theories and justifications of freedom of expression developed in England and the United States, and of the factors and tests determining its scope and practical exercise. Professor Woodrow Borah will take charge of a new course in Latin American Public Address. The University has instituted an experimental course in expository writing designed to aid advanced undergraduate students and graduate students in the preparation of papers and dissertations. Two sections of this course will be taught in the Speech Department by Professors Hungerland and Barnhart.

Tulane University has inaugurated a series of Drama Lectures. Each lecture will relate to a forthcoming major production. The first of the series of four will be given by James K. Feibleman, Head of the Philosophy Department. His talk, "The Theatre as a Time Art," will precede production of Priestley's *Dangerous Corner*. Department member Robert Corrigan's lecture, "The Sun Always Rises," will relate to Ibsen's *Ghosts*.

Building Boom

Plans have been completed and approved for a new two million dollar speech arts building at Fresno State College. The building, which is scheduled for completion in the fall of 1959, will include radio and television studios, arena and proscenium theatres, and a speech therapy clinic.

Final plans and specifications for the new music and speech building at Queens College have been approved.

Ground has been broken for the new medical center to be established on the Stanford campus. The speech and hearing clinic will be housed in the rehabilitation building, now scheduled for completion in the summer of 1959.

Oberlin College has employed Wallace K. Harrison, architect of the United Nations Building, to design a $300,000 addition to Hall Auditorium for its speech department

The Department of Speech of Illinois State Normal University is looking forward to the preparation of new quarters in the Fine Arts Unit which will provide areas for art, music, and speech. The building should be ready for occupancy September 1, 1959. Plans include space for the Little Theatre.

The University of Oklahoma speech and hearing clinic moved into its new $200,000 building on the campus of the University Medical Center in Oklahoma City during June. Completely new equipment and classrooms were constructed for the School for Deaf Children, and new Allison equipment was especially designed for the six audiology testing rooms. Under the direction of Donald T. Counihan, who joined the department staff last year, the outpatient clinic service in therapy has been tripled and new clinics established in aphasia and cleft palate.

The University of Kansas Theatre will officially open a new theatre in the new Music and Dramatic Arts Building, with *Henry IV*, Part I, featuring guest artist Jerome Kilty in the role of Falstaff. Lewin Goff will direct. Two theatres are included in the new building: an 1188-seat auditorium with a 55′ x 80′ main stage incorporating a 42′ turntable, a 42′ x 15′ elevating apron, and a permanently installed adjustable proscenium which is integrated mechanically with the light bridge. The second theatre is an eighty-seat experimental theatre utilizing swivel chairs and a large U-shaped non-proscenium stage.

The scene shop opens onto both stages through large overhead doors. Whole settings may be shifted quickly from shop to either theatre. The theatre is equipped with a thirty-three circuit magnetic amplifier lighting control board with five pre-set positions and an auxiliary twenty-one circuit board. A high fidelity theatre system is being installed with stereophonic sound, stereo tape recorders and playbacks, dual turntables, and electronic monitoring of the theatre to all booths, dressing rooms, and the green room. The levels below the stage contain a well equipped costume shop, a laundering and dyeing room, a costume storage room, a property and furniture room, a rehearsal room duplicating the stage acting area, dressing rooms with showers, and a handsomely appointed green room with an attached kitchen. The University Theatre cordially invites all SAA members to visit and inspect its new quarters.

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